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The Stalinists in the Unions

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Labor Challenge

Revolutionary Workers Party Canadian Section, 4th International

Vol. VII, No. 1 (90)

MID-JANUARY, 1951

Price: 5 cents

Board's Ruling on CSU A Threat to All Labor

The recent ruling of the Canadian Labor Relations Board revoking the certification of the Canadian Seamen's Union as the bargaining agent for a St. Lawrence shipping company on the grounds that it is no longer a union, but a political body, is an unprecedented attack against the most elementary and long-established democratic rights of Canadian workers.

It strikes at the right of to freely choose the union to which they wish to have representation. It is a blow at the head of any union that might elect as its leader who hold political views the bosses or their government. It is a blow at the head of any union that might elect as its leader who hold political views the bosses or their government. It is a blow at the head of any union that might elect as its leader who hold political views the bosses or their government.

This ruling, the first of its kind in North America, is not only in Canada but in North America. It is a blow at the head of any union that might elect as its leader who hold political views the bosses or their government. It is a blow at the head of any union that might elect as its leader who hold political views the bosses or their government.

and therefore its demands should not be recognized — almost word for word with the finding of the Canadian Labor Relations Board against the CSU.

In the face of the obvious danger to the very body he represents how can we explain Mosher's support of the board's ruling? How can we explain Mosher's support of the board's ruling?

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CCF M.P.'s, BY R. DOWSON, NTL. SEC'Y., R.W.P.

At this coming session of the house, as you must know, if only from the tub-thumping war mongering Canadian Legion officialdom and Ford president, R. M. Sale, the question of a wage freeze, of a labor draft and conscription will come up. How these questions will be posed, just what propositions the St. Laurent government will advance in their scheme to militarize our youth and turn this country into an army-police garrison, is still uncertain.

The cause, the reason for their uncertainty is no secret. These political mouthpieces of capital don't know how far they can go, just what they can pull off.

What they will propose, what they will attempt to foist upon the Canadian people depends on you . . . on how you conduct yourselves, what position you take. The decision that will be made does not rest in the hands of the scheming Bay Street's Tories or Liberals. It depends on you—you 13 CCF M.P.'s.

The people of this country are opposed to conscription. We are opposed to it body and soul. The youth want none of General Worthington's army, they want none of its brutalization, its Prussian routine and its horrible objective. Mothers, fathers and sisters do not want their sons and brothers torn from their sides, flame throwers thrust into their hands. We don't want our loved ones to kill or to be killed.

1951, Fall In!



OK-15-1

WAGE FREEZE! LABOR DRAFT! CONSCRIPTION!

We want PEACE and FREEDOM. NO MILITARISM! NO CONSCRIPTION!

In no uncertain terms we have expressed our opinion on this matter. We have a long tradition of fearless and determined opposition to conscription and to fighting other person's wars. The Borden government tasted it in Quebec in 1918. You, too, were quite aware of it, Mr. Coldwell, when, step by step from 1940 to 1944, you went along with King's imposition of conscription on a rebellious populace.

Last July, at the opening stages of the Korean war, the Gallup poll reported that 66 per cent. of the voting age population in this country did not support sending troops to Korea. It is no accident that since then the Gallup poll has been silent. The Canadian people want the Korean war stopped. We want Canadian boys now in Korea, and on the verge of going into action, withdrawn from that war devastated land. We don't want our sons and brothers to die for the insane ambitions of the military or for the imperialist interests of the profit hungry ruling class of monopolists and financiers here and in the U.S.

We don't want the Korean war or any other war. We don't want Canadian troops in Korea or in any other part of the globe for that matter. We don't want war and we don't want any part of the preparations for war. WE DON'T WANT A WAGE FREEZE. WE DON'T WANT ANY KIND OF LABOR DRAFT. WE DON'T WANT CONSCRIPTION.

The 800,000 voting age working people who supported you in the 1949 elections want you to speak their mind. Hundreds of thousands more have no place to turn to find a spokesman. You can be their voice. You can make known to the powers that be their opinion on this question in clear and unmistakable language. You can be the voice . . . you can sound the warning if they dare even think to defy the will of the vast majority of the people.

Our strength can be yours. What is legislated in the house without doubt depends entirely upon you. If you speak out the aspirations and hopes of the Canadian people, if you have the courage to make known their determination to oppose the militarization of this country, if you give leadership to the genuine aspiration of the working people, the Liberals and Tories, with their formal majorities, will quickly turn tail.

So far you have given the Canadian people small right to confidence that you will represent them on this crucial issue. So far you have gone along with all the preparations for World War III.

But for this once, try to rise to your responsibilities. Do your duty to those who placed you into office and who pay your salaries. Do your duty for once, to those who have sacrificed their money, time, energy, and even their lives, to build the movement which you have the honor to head—the movement whose spokesman you claim to be.

For once cease to adapt yourselves to political expediency. The CCF, and the trade unions which have endorsed it as its political arm, did not rise to the positions they hold by crawling on their bellies in obeisance to the golden calf of capitalism and militarism. They became the power they are by defying the vested interests, by standing for what is right, by doing what those who built them brick by brick, wanted.

Do not equivocate on this question. To trifle with it is to trifle with the fate of the Canadian people and perhaps the fate of mankind. Do not deliver the Canadian people into slavery.

Rouse yourselves to your responsibilities. Speak with the voice of the Canadian people whom you yourselves know want NO CONSCRIPTION OF ANY KIND.

LABOR CHALLENGE

A monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

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"You want to fight against war, fight then against the bourgeoisie in times of peace, refuse to vote military credits, do not enter into alliance with the bourgeoisie, build brick by brick your own independent revolutionary proletarian party.

—Lenin.



New Power In Asia

The failure of American and world capitalist power to crush the Asian revolution despite superior arms has given new confidence to oppressed peoples everywhere. As yet North American workers have not by and large connected the setback of their own ruling class abroad with their experiences at home.

However, to understand what has happened to imperialism abroad. The workers need only turn to their own experiences with Big Business over the past two decades. It is not news to us that the blustering monopolists can be whipped. We whipped them handily in the organizing drives of the late Thirties and early Forties. We again humbled the big corporations in the post-war strikes.

The same ruling class which served an ultimatum to the Korean people to submit to capitalist rule, also commanded us to bend the knee to open shop rule. Henry Ford once bluntly announced he would never sign a union contract: Hepburn, mouthpiece of the monopolists, swore that he would never permit the "red terror" of the CIO to "invade" Canada.

But the mass production workers, fed up with the speed-up and the stretch-out, determined to win their democratic rights in industry and under the slogan "Solidarity Forever" brought the industrial tyrants to heel. The odds against the workers seemed overwhelming. Just as the imperialists used the UN to bring pressure against the Korean people, so the capitalists used their laws against labor. And despite the War Labor Boards, the mass of Canadian labor hit the bricks in '46. But here as in Asia, the odds proved, in fact, to be against the small minority of industrial barons who were powerless against the organized forces of labor.

The workers demonstrated in struggle their inventiveness, talents and power. They found new ways to fight and win, just as the Korean and Chinese soldiers mystify the West Point brass with their "irregular" tactics and "fanaticism."

Workers who know all this can also understand what humbled Wall Street and Bay Street in Korea. It was the invincible power of the oppressed millions, striking for freedom, unity and independence, convinced their cause was just. The billionaires have not given up. Although forced to retreat, they continue preparing for large-scale war against the Asian peoples, just as they never rest in their class-war against the workers at home.

01-15-2

Our Confidence in the Future

1950 served as a warning to the Canadian working class that the capitalist system has no other perspective than war. Undeclared wars, limited wars, and gigantic steps toward total war thinly disguised as measures for preserving peace—these are what it really has to offer.

This perspective, we are certain, is abhorrent to most of the Canadian people, who have no investments or markets to safeguard abroad, no reason to protest the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee, to arm the Dutch oppressor of the Indonesians, and no wish to interfere with the right of other peoples to live under systems of their own choice.

We are certain also that most Canadians would decisively reject this perspective, as we do, if they saw a suitable alternative. And make no mistake about it, large numbers are looking around for an alternative. The alternative they will find—and sooner than its enemies and even some of its friends realize—is socialism. By replacing the capitalist system with a society based on production for use, mankind will simultaneously remove the root causes of imperialist war, reaction, poverty, discrimination and enter an era as superior to capitalism as capitalism was to the feudalism that it replaced.

The Canadian working class are going to find their way to socialism not through books but through the most effective of all schools for mass education—experience. The depression of the Thirties taught workers the need to organize independently on the economic field. Once they learned this lesson from experience they moved with rocket speed and in a few short years created a powerful union movement over a million strong.

Hundreds of thousands of these workers have generalized their experiences and learned the need to organize independently on the political field with a view to taking political power away from the capitalist class . . . they have joined or support the CCF. Within that assembly there are considerable numbers who in the past year have gained new insight into the role and nature of the Coldwell leadership which is compromising their struggle by its false policies. They are pondering over the questions of program, principle, the type of party that must be erected to achieve the socialist society, etc.

The grim years immediately before us are going to drive home new lessons and to ever increasing numbers of workers. We are supremely confident that the Canadian working class will assimilate all the lessons and take all the proper measures to change the situation with the same speed and power it has shown in the past.

Some critics contend that our revolutionary optimism is based on mystical faith. But that is not true. Our confidence in the future is derived from an understanding of the class struggle which cannot be erased by proclamations of "emergency" or even war, and of the bankruptcy of a capitalist system already rattling in its death agony. The only realists today are those whose policies and activities are directed toward the victory of socialism in our time.



TROTSKYISM

AROUND THE GLOBE

Proletarians of both hemispheres;

The First International gave you a program and a banner.
The Second International raised the broadest masses to their feet.
The Third International gave the example of revolutionary action.
The Fourth International will bring final victory.

—Leon Trotsky.

F.I. PLENUM

The 9th plenum of the Executive Committee of the Fourth International was held in the early part of December. The plenum adopted two documents presented by the International Secretariat; one, The International Perspectives and Orientation of the Fourth International; the other, The Yugoslav Revolution and the Fourth International. The plenum decided to hold the Third World Congress of the Fourth International this year and to open the discussion in the international on the basis of the above documents that it adopted.

INDONESIA

The Indonesian revolution, which entered a new phase with the granting of a federation status to the "United States of Indonesia" in 1949, has in the recent period brought the masses into sharp conflict with the native capitalists. A new wave of economic and political struggles has resulted. The clearest expression of the desires and moods, the dissatisfaction and anger, of the Indonesian masses has been given by Partai Murba (Proletarian Party,) the party of the extreme left inspired by the great leader of the Indonesian working class Tan Malakka. (Tan Malakka has periodically been reported as dead in the capitalist press of Holland and America, but he is known to be alive).

A mighty strike of 700,000 plantation workers on the island of Java was led to victory by the trade union Sarbopri on September 18, when, after weeks of struggle, the workers got a wage increase of 100 per cent. There is also a growing mass movement whose goal is the expulsion of foreign capital from Indonesia. The rights of this capital have been guaranteed by the "Round Table" decisions of The Hague where Indonesia was granted her independence within the framework of the Dutch Commonwealth.

The Indonesian masses are demanding that the section of New

Guinea still under Dutch domination be united with the Republic of Indonesia. Latest dispatches following the breakdown in The Hague negotiations report that mass demonstrations are sweeping Indonesia. On December 28, 70,000 workers at Macassar struck in protest against Dutch refusal to surrender sovereignty of Western New Guinea. A mass boycott of Dutch goods is spreading.

The Partai Murba is playing a leading role in this struggle. This party numbers among its leaders many of the former leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party who had rebuilt that party in 1945 but who broke with Stalinism when the latter came out in favor of the compromises with imperialism (the treaties of Renville and Linggadjati).

It is noteworthy that the Dutch Communist Party has come out against this unification of New Guinea with Indonesia and favors a mandate over the former exercised by the "Big Five." In the eyes of the Stalinists, supplying the USSR with a military base is more important than the interests of the colonial masses struggling for their emancipation.

The Revolutionary Communist Party (Dutch Trotskyists) has solidly backed the struggle of the Indonesian revolutionists and has carried on unremitting agitation for the scrapping of all the agreements made at the Round Table Conference; for the withdrawal of Dutch troops from Indonesia; for the confiscation of all Dutch capital in Indonesia without compensation; for the reunion of New Guinea with Indonesia and for the complete separation of Indonesia from the Dutch Empire.

U.S.A.

Carl Skoglund, 67-year-old Minnesota trade union leader and long-time prominent member of the American Trotskyist movement has been ordered deported by the U.S. Immigration Service. One of the 18 officers of the Teamsters Local 4 and leaders of the Socialist

Workers Party prosecuted and imprisoned for their opposition to World War II under the notorious Smith "Gag" Act, Skoglund has now become one of the first victims of the no less undemocratic and unconstitutional McCarran Law.

His record of service to the cause of labor is a long and honorable one. He has been in the U.S. for 40 years and has held many important posts in the Midwest labor movement including the presidency of Local 544 which spearheaded the organization of the entire Northwest. He was expelled from the Communist Party in 1929 and has long been known as an uncompromising opponent of its policies and ideas. Nonetheless the Immigration Department is proceeding against him on the ground of his former admitted membership in the Communist Party. The Civil Rights Defence Committee is going to fight Skoglund's case right up to the Supreme Court if necessary.

SWEDEN

At the recently held municipal elections in Stockholm, Sweden, the Trotskyist candidate received some 2,000 votes.

This was the first time that a Trotskyist candidate has run in the Swedish elections.

CEYLON

In Moratuwa, a suburban town, the Trotskyist party, Lanka Sama Samaja, scored a victory in the elections for City Council. Of twelve seats the Trotskyists won five, the Communist (Stalinist) Party, one, while the main capitalist party, the U.N.P., won three seats. This town has a very wealthy section and the capitalists organized an all-out fight against the Lanka Sama Samaja Party with the clergy delivering weekly attacks against the Trotskyists. Despite this the people, many of them Catholics, organized parades to the polls to vote for the Trotskyist candidates. A Trotskyist will be chairman of the City Council.

Red-Baiters Help the Stalinists Cover Up Rotten Union Record

By PAUL KANE

The pro-Atlantic Powers wing of the trade union bureaucracy, the Mosheres and Bengoughs, have got the pro-Russian sector, the Jacksons and Murpheys, on the run. They have got away with highhandedly driving the unions that the Stalinists head out into isolation, out of the Congresses, the mainstreams of organized labor. They have brutally purged all known Stalinists from official bodies of all affiliates and imposed an atmosphere of fear and intimidation over CCL-TLC locals.

But all is not well with the anti-red drive. It has not panned out quite as they expected. The end of the Stalinists hasn't come, as they had hoped it would.

The campaign being waged by the Millards, Barons and Halls is so devoid of even the appearances of progressiveness, rides so roughshod over the most elementary aspects of trade union democracy, so transparently coincides with and extends into the labor movement the campaign being waged against unionism itself by the monopolists, that it is inevitable that it should provoke fear and distrust from the best sections of the trade union rank and file. It is inevitable that those against whom the witch hunt is first directed should tend to rouse the sympathy of some of the best elements in labor's ranks.

While the accumulation of Stalinist treacheries has been catching up and spreading doubts in the minds of the more advanced workers, including the lower ranks of the Stalinists themselves, the whole reactionary campaign being conducted by the trade union bureaucracy has intervened and partially checked this process. It has won them sympathy as persecuted trade union activists, persecuted by men, many of whom latched onto the trade union movement as it was on the rise and demonstrated its ability to pay off with cushy jobs. The Stalinists are trying to work on this sympathy to refurbish their tarnished reputations. Today in the various trade union papers that remain at their disposal and in their party press, The Canadian Tribune, the Stalinists are attempting to cast themselves in the role of the most intransigent opponents to the trade union bureaucracy and the most militant defenders of the interests of Canadian labor. They are attempting to build up the C. S. Jacksons and the Harvey Murpheys, and the unions they head, as the leaders in the struggle for wage increases, shorter hours, as principled opponents of red-baiting, as the defenders of democracy in the unions, enemies of government intervention in union affairs, as the



TIM BUCK

very symbols of militant courageous and principled trade unionism.

Opponents(?) of red baiting — you would expect that its first victims would be its most principled and uncompromising opponents. But which union was the first to sign non-communist affidavits? The Stalinist-led Canadian Seamen's Union in the summer of 1947. In a settlement hailed by Stalinist President Davis as a great victory, CSU delegates boarding ships on union business were committed to signing statements that they were not "communists or communist agents." The union agreed to abide by a provision declaring that all shore delegates must be Canadian citizens and have served in the armed forces or merchant marine during the war.

At the 1948 convention the witch-hunters, in their attempts to launch the red-baiting purge in the TLC through the expulsion of the embattled CSU, went down to defeat. Everyone knew that the issue was going to be fought out at the 1949 convention. On the very eve of this convention the Stalinists withdrew the CSU from the congress, cutting the guts out of the fight against the Frank Hall cabal.

Following the 1950 convention the top bureaucracy forced anti-communist affidavits on all delegates to TLC bodies. But who beat them to the punch? Well over a year prior to the TLC convention, on July 27, 1949, Robert H. Carlin, Eastern Canadian Director of the Stalinist dominated International

Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union and long-time Stalinist party-liner, volunteered in the Mayor's office at Rouyn the signature of a non-communist affidavit.

The Stalinists as defenders of democracy in the unions? The Stalinist record does not differ in this matter from that of the traditional trade union bureaucracy.

In the Spring of 1945 the Stalinist-led Shipyard Workers General Federation purged an opposition that developed in the Victoria local by deposing the local's executive and setting up a rump opposition local. At the Vancouver convention that Fall they steamrollered and beat down a proposal by the Prince Rupert delegation that a general membership meeting of the the Victoria local be called to determine the will of the rank and file. At the same time the B.C. District of the IWA, its leadership firm in the hands of the Stalinists, was plagued by a whole series of suspensions and expulsions carried out against rank and file opponents to the leadership's policies.

Against government interference in union affairs? The Tribune shrieked and howled about St. Laurent's intervention in the recent railway strike and the Mosher-Hall acceptance of the strike-breaking return-to-work order and compulsory arbitration. But no one yelled louder for government intervention than LPP leader Buck and CSU leader Sullivan during the 1945 Ford strike and '46 Great Lakes strike. During the 1948 strike wave the Millards and Conroys were outshouted by the Jacksons in their support of the government's Parliamentary Committee of Industrial Relations set up by King in order to take the struggle off the far-flung picket lines and force a so-called impartial arbitration on the steel strikers.

High in leading UAW circles during the 1945 Ford strike, the Stalinists advocated the acceptance of Humphrey Mitchell's formula to arbitrate union security. When the rank and file, under the threat of 250 federal and provincial police encamped in that city dramatically rejected this proposal advanced by their leaders, the Stalinists lined up with Windsor clergymen and businessmen to pressure for a new vote. In the December 22, 1945 Canadian Tribune Windsor LPP leader Kogan boasts of the leading roll the LPP played in forcing through acceptance of the Mitchell formula.

Today the Stalinists set themselves up as opponents of compul-

sory arbitration and write devastating articles against the long term peace pacts recently signed up by the Reutherite leadership of the UAW. But from June 22, 1941 on they were the strongest advocates of compulsory conciliation and long-term contracts — not just peace pacts but on whatever terms the employers desired, and not for two years or five years, but for the duration . . . the duration of World War II.

The Stalinists imposed no-strike pledge contracts that were not only empty of improvement clauses but which condoned speed-up and piece work, anything that the employers demanded. They prodded the Bengoughs, to whom such a betrayal is second nature but who were frightened of Stalinist brazenness, to impose it upon the entire labor movement. To their chagrin they were unable to convince the CCL leadership to formally, to openly commit themselves to such a pledge, but they did their best. Buck had occasion to boast in March 1946 that "It was the Communists (read Stalinists, P.K.) who won the labor movement for labor-management cooperation during the war, who first proposed the no-strike pledge. It was the Communists who lead the struggle to unite all sections in support of conscription."

Not content with just being the purveyors of such treacherous policies, the Stalinists took upon themselves the task of policing them — to the extent of acting as strikebreakers.

Robert Haddow, of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, attempted to smash a strike at the Montreal Canadian Vickers Plant in 1943. A few sections of the plant were organized by AFL craft unions and the CCL had called a strike to organize the plant along industrial lines. Haddow, then a representative of the IAM, appeared on the picket line in an attempt to get the workers back on the job. The workers ran Haddow off the line and but for the protection of the police would have beaten him up.

"Go back to work. . . Don't fall for strike provocations. Remain united and resume negotiations with management," was the appeal of Alfred Campbell, Ontario LPP Publicity Director, (April 21, 1946 TRIBUNE) to New Toronto Goodyear Rubberworkers on strike for rectification of an accumulation of grievances. The provocateurs, Campbell warned about were none other than Charles H. Millard, the very symbol of business unionism,

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and Joe Mackenzie. "The workers need never have left work if the CCF were not so anxious to organize strikes," Campbell warned. "They (Millard and Mackenzie) call strikes without the faintest idea of where they are going to end up. Such action is blindness and motivated by a desire to appear as militant leaders. . . ."

When World War II came to a close the Canadian working class projected themselves into the most grandiose series of strike struggles that have yet been seen. If you read the Stalinist press and were gullible you would get the picture of the Stalinist-led unions carving out the way of march in these bold, awe inspiring struggles. The truth, however, is just the opposite.

The 1946 strike struggle opened up with all the key mass industrial unions, after suffering years of frustration and delay at the hands of government boards, presenting a united front in determination to by-pass the War Labor Boards and deal directly with management, determined to win a \$2 a day wage increase and the 40-hour week.

The first major union to hit the bricks was the 37,000 strong Stalinist-led IWA. But in the meantime Stalinist leader C. S. Jackson signed a 5-cent increase to end the isolated Phillips strike in Brockville, and the UE local at Canadian Locomotive in Kingston petitioned the War Labor Board for an 8½-cent increase. Pat Sullivan, Stalinist president of the CSU, armed with a strike mandate, when the WLB granted the 8-hour day on two small-tanker lines, reversed the union's stand and announced willingness to make a joint submission to the WLB with any of the shipping owners. The union was forced out on strike by the provocative action of the Canadian Steamship Lines when they sailed the SS City of Montreal with a scab crew.

As late as mid-June, when over 50,000 strikers were manning picket lines, the Stalinist UE leadership was still stalling until some indefinite future when the Steel leadership would make up their mind to use their strike mandate. In the meantime Sudbury Mine Mill Local 598, the biggest local in the country whose members had had no wage increase since 1937, instead of calling a strike vote, called in a conciliator and settled their 29-cent, 40-hour week demand for 10 cents and the same old 48-hour week. At Trail the Stalinist-led Mine Mill settled for half their original demands.

While the battle line now stretched clear across the Dominion, by midsummer of '46 it became obvious that the focal point in the struggle against the monopolists, the salient where the tide of battle could be turned either way, into victory or defeat, was Steel's picket

line encircling the sprawling Stelco plant in Hamilton. All the forces of the government and the police were concentrated there. Well over 1,000 scabs were squatting in the plant attempting to maintain a semblance of operation. The Stelco struggle inspired great demonstrations of solidarity from Hamilton labor. The air was electric with talk of general strike. Railway workers refused to break the line to deliver supplies or take out scab produced steel. But neither the perilous situation confronting Canadian labor nor a feeling of solidarity with the Steelworkers moved the Stalinist leadership of the CSU. During the strike not one but three cargoes of "hot" steel were shipped out of the strike-bound plant in boats under agreement with the CSU.

The Stalinists effectively expose the corruption and duplicity of the trade union bureaucracy — but for duplicity—it is doubtful if the Stalinists can be matched. On February 23, 1946 a CCL-TLC labor lobby, 300 strong, headed by Harold Pritchett, Harvey Murphy, Daniel O'Brien, and others, converged on the Hart government in Victoria. Its purpose was to fight for a brief demanding a 40-hour week and two weeks vacation with pay. Some months later, upon the request of CCF leader Harold Winch, the government tabled information that revealed that on January 3rd, at the very moment that the lobby was being whipped into shape, at a secret meeting with prominent officials of the Hart government, on a motion seconded by Murphy these same leaders endorsed a recommendation for a 44-hour week. O'Brien seconded another motion that had the O.K. of these same leaders approving legislation for one week's vacation.

As for corruption . . . never in Canadian labor history has there been such barefaced racketeering handling of union funds as the Stalinist leadership of the IWA were found guilty of in the Fall of 1948.

An audit of the unions 1946 Strike Fund revealed that, except for \$1,422.00, expenditures totalling \$108,373.00 for relief, publicity and administration were not substantiated by any supporting evidence. The 1945-46 statement revealed that Nigel Morgan, one-time international board member and now provincial leader of the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party, received two loans from the IWA totalling \$510.43 both "not recovered and

written off." Morgan received the second loan long after he had severed official connections with the IWA.

Two days before they disaffiliated from the IWA and set up the rump, shortlived WIUC in an attempt to cover up their skullduggery, the Stalinist leaders of Local 1-71 met to give away \$16,500. They tossed \$9,000 to the Stalinist leaders of Mine Mill, \$5,000 to the union printer and \$2,500 to an attorney as a retaining fee. They even mortgaged all the furniture of Local 1-217.

In the narrow interests of the preservation of their machine and the propagation of their Kremlin-inspired line, there have been no limits to the depths that they are willing to descend.

In their long and bitter opposition to the CCF they have lined up with the most suspect elements in the unions and have spread all the reactionary arguments of the Gompersist and the "keep politics out of the unions" gang. In their fight against the IWA they charged the courts that it was an illegal organization, an organization in restraint of trade because the IWA's constitution upheld the principle of the union shop. Last winter when mass unemployment appeared to be on the agenda the Stalinists attacked and stood in the way of all attempts of organization of the unemployed by the Canadian Congress of Labor.

They have intransigently opposed the demand for the sliding scale of wages clause, or escalator clause, with all the phoney arguments they could devise . . . although the Stalinist-led United Garment Workers and the UE have just signed a flock of contracts containing escalator clauses.

The Stalinists are on the run. Pat Sullivan, Azelus Beaucage, Alex Welch, T. G. McManus, and dozens of lesser lights have switched camps. Trained in this school of treachery their renegacy is not surprising; nor is it surprising that demoralization, such as resulted in the exposure and destruction of their entire chemical caucus in the Toronto area, should be sweeping through their ranks.

If the Stalinists prove able to prevent the debacle that confronts them and re-establish themselves among the militants it will only be thanks to another crime chalked up on the already staggering record of betrayals and sell-outs perpetrated by the trade union bureaucracy.

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Labor Challenge

Revolutionary Workers Party

Canadian Section, 4th Internati

Vol. VI, No. 2 (91)

MID-FEBRUARY, 1951

House Ignores Majority's Cry, 'Stop the Korean War'

The will of the Canadian people is being violated by Prime Minister St. Laurent, his cabinet and the house of commons by their refusal to withdraw Canadian troops from Korea and their refusal to break off their alliance with the US State Department which threatens to involve us in war with the Chinese Republic.

The Canadian people, as do the American people, want their sons and brothers brought out of Korea. The people of the United States voiced their clear and unmistakable opposition to Korean intervention in the Jan. 23rd Gallup Poll (despite the fact that the poll is notoriously slanted to favor the capitalist viewpoint), when 66 per cent of those questioned voted to "pull out of Korea," 9 per cent didn't reply and only 25 per cent voted to "stay there."

If the American people have proven to be opposed to the Korean atrocity, the Canadian people, according to Charles Lucey writing in the N.Y. World Telegram, are "indifferent" to the whole matter of what he calls defence. "The Canadian government," he notes, "is stepping up military preparedness but an attitude of 'this isn't our war' or 'let's sit this one out' is a major element in the Canadian story. This traditional ally . . . disagrees in part with the whole idea of war in Korea and criticizes the way that war has been fought."

There has been no Gallup Poll of the Canadian people since July 29, when UN forces were moving from victory to victory and when 66 per cent of voting age Canadians registered their non-support of the sending of troops to Korea, but the Canadian people have continued to demonstrate their opposition to the war in Korea and their deep-rooted fear that it may lead to a war with China and the Third World holocaust.

Premier Douglas' Challenge

Can anyone doubt that CCF premier of Saskatchewan, T. C. Douglas, only gave voice to the sentiments of the majority of the people in all ten provinces in his speech to the Saskatchewan House on February 7? He warned that he felt the people of Saskatchewan would fight to defend freedom, but were not prepared "to send their sons to be slaughtered in foreign fields to bolster up discredited regimes. . . . We cannot allow the desire to stop aggression to act as a cloak to force Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek or other sawdust caesars on people who don't want them. . . ."

No one will dare deny that the poll Raoul Poulin, Independent M.P. for Beauce, took of his constituents "with respect to the Canadian military budget" is anything but the sentiment of the majority of the people of Quebec. —

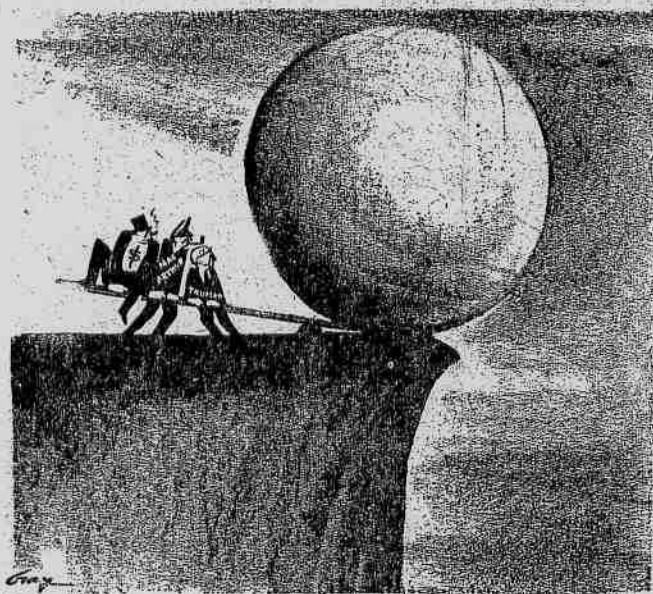
He told the house on February 6 that "I am convinced that the great majority of them have been startled by the announcement of 5 billion", a military budget which "leads us strongly to believe that a general war is in the offing. These fabulous expenditures, I will be told are designed to prevent war. As was done last September, the old saying, si vis pacem, para bellum, if you want peace, prepare for war, will be invoked. But history proves this saying to be false; conquerors have always used it as a sham to hide their infamous designs for conquest. . . . Today the American empire is picking up the torch from the falling hands of the British empire and wants to cross not only the Mediterranean but the seven seas and use guns, tanks, and flame throwers to make the Asiatic people benefit from the blessings of peace. And they want to drag Canada into the venture. . . ."

It is beyond dispute that Premier Douglas and M.P. Raoul Poulin are here giving voice to the heartfelt sentiments of the Canadian people. Neither the leaders of the Canadian Legion nor the spokesmen of that sinister conspiracy, the Conference of Defence Associations, with their advocacy of a national registration system and an enforced system of selecting men for military training, nor such Big Business advocates of the militarization of this country as Ford's Rhys M. Sale speak with the voice of the Canadian people.

The Canadian people want none of the Korean war and its murderous destruction of an entire people and their country. They fear involvement in a war with China and what that will mean in blood—the blood of their sons, their brothers and their loved ones.

They feel uneasy about the monstrous military budget. Not just

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MacArthur Gags Princess Pats From Speaking Up

What do the Princess Pats really think about the war which they are on the brink of being thrust into? Are they anxious to "get going" to raise what few Korean villages have not yet been razed, to pour a murderous fire into Chinese and Korean troops, to risk their lives in Wall Street's UN-masked campaign to re-impose the corrupt Rhee regime on Korea and plunk its forces on the borders of the Chinese Republic?

That is the picture that the attached Canadian Press correspondents would have us believe—but there is no reason why we should believe it—quite the contrary. According to a Jan. 9 AP dispatch from Tokyo, correspondents are forbidden among other restrictions to file stories that would "embarrass the United States, its allies or neutral countries," that would "injure the morale of our forces, or our allies" or might cause "dissension in our forces or our people." Breach of these regulations by correspondents would mean expulsion from the war theatre and even court-martial, although newspapermen are civilians.

Very revealing is the AP disclosure that "one field dispatch from an AP correspondent, Tom Lambert, was killed by censors because it described American troops as dispirited, bewildered and uncertain of the future." Not the least purpose of this unprecedented gag on newspaper correspondents is to prevent the people back-home from hearing the real sentiments, the real feelings of the Pats about the role they are about to be cast in.

The only group of Canadian Korean forces that the censorship could not completely gag is the advance guard which prepared the Pats' army base near Pusan and has been returned to Fort Lewis. They are glad to be out of Korea and they have said so in no uncertain terms. As Premier Douglas

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the oppressive taxes, longer hours, restraints on civil rights that it spells out, but its whole purpose. They doubt, and with good reason, that it is for the defence of Canadian soil and what democratic rights that they have established in the teeth of the opposition of the Canadian capitalist class and their political representatives. They feel, with the evidence before them of Korea and the rearmament of Germany against the will of its people, that it is for some insidious purpose; for profit perhaps, for the conquest and enslavement of other peoples perhaps . . . something which they not only have no interest in but stand in abhorrence of.

St. Laurent Usurps Powers

Neither the government, nor the Tory and CCF M.P.'s in opposition, are listening to the people.

If the Korean war is for democracy, as St. Laurent and his government pretend, why do they refuse to listen to the democratic will of the people? Why do they, in the face of our known opposition, keep Canadian troops in Korea, and go about the business of making all the preparations that would see all our fears realized?

The government stands branded as a usurper of power, as the dictatorial enemy of the people. The Tories are branded with the same vile mark. The CCF M.P.'s, elected into office by the working people, while they expose the government's denial of the will of the people with regards to price controls, remain silent on the sending of troops abroad. Aside from their disagreement on Chinese recognition, they operate in the spirit of Alistair Stewart's statement: "I think it is a good thing that as far as possible there should be in this house a reasonable approximation to unanimity as to the foreign policy we pursue. That has been so in the past and I think it will so in the future."

The government usurps the rights of the people. The opposition gives no voice to their aspirations. Ignoring the will of the people the government has no right to legislate in the name of the people.

The Canadian people would do only what is right, what is their responsibility, in demanding that the powers of war and peace be taken out of the hands of parliament; that the question of sending troops abroad be decided by the people, by a popular referendum.

Those who will do the suffering, those who will kill and be killed, they and they alone have the right to decide this momentous question. Every man and woman 18 years and over must have the right to vote on the issue of war and peace.

TAKE THE WARMAKING POWERS OUT OF THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO USURP THE POWERS OF THE PEOPLE! LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE!

LABOR CHALLENGE

A monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

Published by

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Editor, ROSS DOWSON

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Idealists think the human mentality is progressive, but in reality it is the most conservative element in society. Your technique is progressive but the mentality of the worker lags far behind. Their backwardness consists of inability to generalize their problems; they consider everything on a personal basis. Now, the war will teach American workers social thinking.

Trotsky, 1940

Whose Emergency?

With one stroke Minister of Resources and Development Winters crossed off housing for the Canadian people. This was done by limiting loans under the National Housing Act to 80 per cent of lending values prevailing in January 1950. "... the heavy demands the present international situation is imposing and will impose ... have made it necessary," he said.

The same reasons have been given by Minister of National Defence Claxton for a military expenditure four times as great as last year's and which will certainly result in a crushing burden of taxes of all kinds being thrust on the backs of the workers. The present emergency demands that the Canadian people submit to "austerity" to various and increasing forms of regimentation, all government officials and capitalist apologists sing in chorus.

What is this emergency that they say must be met by granting the government powers little short of the garrison powers contained in the War Measures Act? What is it that demands we give up the 40 hour week, increase production to a break neck speed, pull in our belts?

Certainly this country is not threatened by the Koreans or the Chinese who are fighting 8,000 miles away against an invading UN army on their own territory or near their own border.

This emergency is the reaction of the government and the ruling capitalist circles to the fact that their armed intervention at the side of Wall Street in the Korean civil war has led to a military disaster. This defeat has brought about a crisis in the government's policies.

It is going to cost a lot more than American capitalism and its junior partners planned to take over the world. They must either abandon the scheme or speed up and expand tremendously their military preparations. And this means they must put the squeeze on the people in earnest.

But this is where the hitch comes in. The people of Canada, as the masses of Europe and Asia, are reluctant to fall in line. They don't feel very much threatened by anything except the danger of the catastrophic war, inflation and dictatorship which the actions of Ottawa are leading to. All this talk about emergency and the "demands of the present international situation" is designed to overcome the popular opposition to the war plans.

This is THEIR crisis which they represent as the crisis of the nation. And this is THEIR emergency which they are attempting to overcome by whipping the people into line with threats, decrees and compulsion.

Coldwell's Friends

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The CCF is affiliated to COMISCO, a loose international association of parties in various parts of the world that call themselves socialist. In the spirit of fraternity, if not identity of interest, one would expect the CCF leaders to look upon the national opponents of each of their co-thinkers as *their* opponents. You would expect Coldwell and company to consider, not just the friends of their co-thinkers *their* friends, but their co-thinkers enemies *their* enemies also.

The CCF takes great pride, basks in the "glory" of Nehru. They make him out to be one of themselves—a pillar of democracy, a friend of socialism. That Nehru is widely acclaimed by all their opponents doesn't caution them; The Ontario CCF News praises him as "a great leader of India" and attacks "extremists" who "weaken his position at home."

Who are these "extremists" and what is Nehru's version of democracy? The All-Indian Trade Union Congress last year reported that 25,000 of its members had been imprisoned for union activities. According to a statement made in the Madras Provincial Legislature at the same time, 9,983 members of the Communist Party and the COMISCO affiliated Socialist Party had been detained. The Congress Party has issued decrees which "legitimately" deprive trade unions, peasant organizations and political opponents of every civil right. According to a Socialist Party report; "In Gorakhpur, a (Socialist) Party worker, Rishidev, lost his life as a result of injuries received from congress agents. Patwaris, constables and police officers brought the voters, under compulsion, and made them vote for the Congress."

The "extremists" who "weaken" Nehru's position at home of course include the COMISCO Socialist Party members whose heads are bloodied by Nehru's police and who are running 2,000 candidates in the coming election against Nehru's Congress Party.

Far from allying themselves with other forces in the world striving for socialism, Coldwell stands with reactionaries even against his own fellow "socialists".

In Korea the CCF M.P.'s stand with Rhee whose government drips with the blood of slaughtered liberals, trade unionists, and of course socialists. In Germany they stand with Wall Street, its military occupation and its nefarious plans to recreate and rearm the German Army, despite the opposition of the German people and against the Social Democrats of Germany.

With such friends on the international political arena and such treachery to their co-thinkers abroad, is it at all surprising that they become increasingly, day by day, better friends of the enemies of the workers here in Canada?

RWP Classes

VANCOUVER

You won't want to miss our weekly study class held at 2:30 on Sunday afternoons at 3496 Quebec Street. The class is studying Frederick Engel's ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY as a foundation for the understanding of the role of the modern state. Considerable time is devoted to questions and discussion. All are welcome.

TORONTO

You won't want to miss our weekly class on THE SOVIET UNION, WHAT IT IS, WHERE IT IS GOING, ITS ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS. The class is held at 8:15 on Sunday evenings at 87 King Street West, Room 5 (across from the Star Building). Questions and discussion.

WHITHER PEACE CONGRESS ?? ANSWER IN DELEGATES' HANDS

By ROSS DOWSON

The Canadian section of the World Peace Congress will have the opportunity to draw the balance sheet of its work at the National Assembly for Peace at Toronto April 7-8. Last month the congress petitions were turned over to the St. Laurent government and the big effort of the Congress was wound up. What has been achieved?

Practically all the big-name signatures that were heralded as landmarks in the campaign have been repudiated by their authors; the Quebec town councils, George Burt, etc. After three years of sustained activity the Congress is without any real support or influence in the mass movements of the people. None of the big unions, no important church, cultural or social organizations, support it. Only the declining Stalinist Labor Progressive Party, its press the Canadian Tribune, a few unions and locals under its influence, its peripheral social and cultural groups back the Congress.

And what a treacherous base this is for any genuine anti-war movement! The LPP leaders react with horror at the mere mention of the A Bomb; they wax indignant over the Atlantic Powers' fraternization with Hitler's military staff, and swear their intransigent opposition to conscription. But we went through all this before.

It is only a little more than five years ago when these same people hailed the atomization of Nagasaki and Hiroshima as an occasion of "universal rejoicing in Canada." Canadian Tribune (Aug. 18, 1945). It wasn't many years ago when they put their anti-fascism on ice to endorse Molotov's toast to Ribbentrop that "fascism is only a matter of taste" and Stalin's pact with Hitler, which the former grinned was "sealed in blood." And who can forget that it was Tim Buck who headed the pack of warmongers yapping for a YES vote in last war's conscription plebiscite.

Who can have any confidence that they will not drop and attempt to wreck the whole affair if Stalin can make a deal with Wall Street as he did with Hitler. It was Stalin Prize Novelist Ehrenburg who told the Warsaw Conference that he "stood for peace—and peace not only with the America of Robeson," a symbol of negro oppression, "but also for peace with the America of Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson." What would a Korean, an Indo-Chinese freedom struggle amount to in their eyes then?

Aside from the question marks that these incontrovertible facts place around the whole future of the Congress and the justifiable cynicism of many anti-war fighters about its whole purpose, what gains, if not organizational, insofar as halting the war drive, have been recorded?

The St. Laurent government with studied contempt arrogantly refused to meet the delegation presenting the petition. The petition itself was tossed in the waste basket.

St. Laurent could do this not because we think he felt able to challenge the validity of the claimed

489,914 signatures certified to exist only by affidavit, although there was sufficient grounds for him to challenge the number. This figure was presented as the combined total of signatures affixed to the Stockholm petition and the Ban the Bomb petition, but petitioners were instructed that it was quite right for persons to sign both as they were distinctly separate petitions. According to Dr. Endicott's press interview in Ottawa when he presented the Ban the Bomb petition, 128,000 had signed, a number which in subsequent tallies became "over 200,000." Almost 93,000 were accounted for by simply counting attendance at public meetings that endorsed the resolutions, the majority of which no doubt signed as individuals.

We don't know who the Congress officials think they are fooling by these manipulations but the government didn't even need to bother challenging the validity of the number to toss the petition aside. St. Laurent knew that the petition was just a scrap of paper: the lack of reaction to his contemptuous reception of it proved his evaluation to be a correct one.

Even official Congress releases put forward the line that ANYONE could sign either petition, anyone who wanted peace. Petitioners were set the task of developing a "will for peace" to make the people become aware of "the need for peace." Could anyone think the Canadian people so degenerate to require this education? The St. Laurent government is certainly aware of the Canadian peoples' long tradition of opposition to conscription, it read the Gallup poll on their sentiments to intervention in Korea. This was the material at hand, the soil to be worked and here the Congress failed completely.

With a correct program there is every reason to believe that an anti-war movement could have made big strides towards the organization of the existing anti-war sentiments and in the immediate sense put a big crimp in the government's militarization of this country.

But today after three years of work, hard work by Congress supporters, no one can fail to recognize that the government is more prepared to project this country into war than before. In fact Canadian troops are in action in Korea, committed to Germany,



and each military budget has been more monstrous than the previous one.

In order to bolster the Congress up its leaders see victories for peace in every diplomatic conflict in the Atlantic powers bloc — remember their telegram of congratulations to Prime Minister St. Laurent for keeping "the door open for peace and negotiations with People's China." No one but congress officials could take the claim that the Congress played a powerful role in this event very seriously. It was the might of the Chinese revolutionary armies and the crisis confronting the European ruling class.

As for the European wing of the Congress, if the powerful Communist parties, which are its base there, had really pursued a revolutionary policy instead of confusing the masses with campaigns for peace and signatures there would be no talk about pressure on Attlee and compromises with imperialism. The revolutionary drive of the Asian and European masses would have been carried through to the very end for never has the international situation of imperialism been worse, its military unpreparedness more glaring, its confusion and demoralization more acute.

The so-called "practical" program of the Stockholm Conference and now the Warsaw Congress have proven, one is forced to admit, totally ineffective. Far from advancing the anti-war fight, they have disoriented it, taken it down one blind alley after another. The Korean war and American imperialism's UN-stamped napalm bombs put the skids under the simple Ban the A Bomb petition by demonstrating, if there was any doubt, that war could still be

fought in all its horror with less awesome instruments of destruction.

The Warsaw Appeal addressed to the UN as an instrument for peace—the very idea makes one's stomach turn after Korea is piled onto the South Africa and Indonesian experiences — is no less treacherous with its absurd request that all parliaments, including the Canadian, U.S., British and West German we assume, should enact a law to punish any (themselves included, of course) who propagandize for a new war. Its aggression ban not only accedes to the status quo, in which the seeds of imperialist wars are planted, but it sets up the absurd standard of determining the progressive or reactionary content of a war on the basis of who strikes the first blow, thereby playing into the hands of the biggest powers who can easily provoke a situation. By this standard China's progressive and entirely defensive "aggression" in Korea brands her the war criminal.

After the experiences with the old League of Nations and the writings of Lenin on the subject, it is paralyzing to see the classic program of pacifism — disarmament — written into the Warsaw Appeal.

Far from playing even the slightest progressive role in the fight against war the Congress disarms not the forces for war but the forces that would fight against war.

The cause of war lies not in the possession of arms, the influence of degenerate warmongers in places of power, in tempers or misunderstandings that provoke a hasty act such as an aggression, but in the capitalist system itself, in its inevitable struggle for markets, spheres of influence, fields in which it can dump surplus capital and obtain cheap sources of labor and supplies. In the words of Lenin: "Imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable as long as private property in the means of production exists."

It is necessary to bring this message to the workers, to arm them for the struggle for socialism which alone can prevent the Third World War. This can be done by taking to the ever increasing ranks that are prepared to fight off the danger of war, a program that leads them inevitably forward to struggle with the capitalist system, something which the Congress program miserably fails to do.

First plank in such a program should be the slogan; Take the war-making powers from parliament which has thrust Canadian troops into Korea without consultation with the people and in the face of their known opposition. FOR A REFERENDUM ON WAR OR PEACE!

Such a petition would rouse the enthusiasm of the people, sharpen their understanding of the class nature of society and inevitably lead toward the erection of a socialist society of peace and plenty.

Canadian Tradition and the War in Korea

September to the end of December the government spent a million dollars for recruiting posters and ads. It would be difficult to estimate the cost of the thousands of blank newspaper articles, radio broadcasts and what have been poking away at us since the outbreak of the

of high powered propaganda, honeyed words, persuasive threats, has failed to do the job it is intended to do. The people have not been roused to hate the Korean and Chinese ruitment to the Korean force has remained at a pitiful low, in people do not look upon intervention at the side of the ruitment, on the contrary, there is a great uneasiness and position to involvement of Canadian troops there.

sellings do not flow from any lack of concern over the fate of the people, indifference to democracy, justice, rapine, arson, the propagandists appear to believe and would have us believe. We do not need to be roused into action, coaxed along by our responsibilities by the motley crew of Duplessis, Drew, or even CCF M.P.'s and union bureaucrats.

The working people of this country, are the heirs to a great revolutionary solidarity with the freedom struggles of other lands. Our short but turbulent history is a history of struggle for democracy, for freedom, for justice, both at home and abroad.

The fact that the rulers of this country always appeal to work on these aspirations of ours is irrefutable testimony true.

A recognition that the Canadian people can only be appealed to the highest idealism that the capitalist class public War I and II as crusades—the latter as a war for democracy, for the Four Freedoms. They knew that they would convinced us of the need to sacrifice energy and lives so of new millionaires could sprout up, so that the banks and could amass new wealth and five years later the general Canadian troops in battle could shake hands with the blood-stained hands of the German top brass and the

able is, and the capitalist propagandists know it... the people do not believe what Pearson says about the Korean UN forces are bringing freedom and democracy to the

the American Civil War we did not need to be told by the what our historic responsibilities were. Then, and as a act before and since then, our rulers found their side with the ruling circles win and dined escaped Southern officers their recuperation and return to the Southern army. Of their authority to protect Confederate bands who used this a home base for border raids on Northern towns.

Canadian people turned Canada into the northern terminus of the transcontinental railway where escaped slaves could find security against Slave Law. And our forefathers did not content with even these expressions of sympathy for the North, reserve the Union and destroy the encroaching slavery. In 1861 opposition 50,000 left their homes and loved ones to join the revolutionary armies. Over 18,000 died in battle or

significance of this number of volunteers can be gained from the fact that even the broadest registration would have yielded a 200,000 Canadians for military service at that time.

A 50,000 pales into insignificance the mere 1,000 volunteers of the government, 30 years of growth later, felt able to risk it could equip and transport to South Africa to help the British rule on the Boers and open up the country to ex-British capital! And Laurier made all the demagogic Pearson makes today in his attempts to boost the Korean

to 10,000 mark. hundred more Canadians than Laurier promised Britain way to the side of the Spanish revolution of 1934-35, of innumerable difficulties placed in their way by the government implicitly backed fascist Franco by enforcing an arms embargo on Hitler and Mussolini fed him arms and troops.

the Canadian tradition.

of trial, when the souls of men are shaken, the Canadian answered, and in defiance of the authorities, have joined, on the side of progress.

of voluntary recruitment to the special Korean force

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Labor Challenge

Revolutionary Workers Party Canadian Section, 4th International

Vol. VI, No. 3 (92)

MID-MARCH, 1951

Price: 5 cents

NEW EMERGENCY POWERS GIVE ST. LAURENT A BLANK CHEQUE

For the Pats — Just a "Police Action"



Suggest Wage Freeze OK Serve as Front for Gov't

The leaders of the million-strong organized labor movement of this country has given the government the go-ahead signal to freeze the wages of their inflation-harassed members and carry out a national registration which would be the first step towards a labor draft and the military conscription of the youth.

What resistance or reservations they have, the Mothers and Bengoughs clearly reveal can easily be overcome—a few plush seats

during World War II—wage freeze, labor draft, speed up, sacrifice after sacrifice by the workers while the bosses reap fortunes.

But they can be halted. On February 29 under the pressure of an aroused working class, Mother and Bengough's blood brothers in the U.S., organized in the United Labor Policy Committee, were forced to withdraw all labor representation on Truman's war mobilization committee. The committee on

CCF MP's Fall For Price Control Trap

By PAUL KANE

With the passage of the Emergency Powers Act and the Defence Production Act the St. Laurent government will have in its hands the most sweeping and dictatorial powers that any Canadian government has possessed, certainly in peacetime and probably even in time of war.

The Emergency Powers Act, which even St. Laurent himself admitted includes "the capacity to affect not only the ordinary property and civil rights of Canadian citizens but their personal rights as well" was characterized by CCF whip Stanley Knowles as "almost a blank cheque." "A blank cheque" giving "the government powers to do things not defined in the act" itself.

Speaking of the Defence Production Act Tory Donald Fleming acidly charged the government that it should have drawn it up to read:

"(1) This act may be cited as the Defence Production Act. (2) 'Minister' means the Minister of Defence Production. (3) The Minister shall be and be deemed to be to all intents and purposes whatsoever, omnipotent."

The Emergency Powers Act has already been rammed through the Liberal packed house. The resolution presented to the house read; "that it is expedient to introduce a measure to empower the governor-in-council to do and authorize such acts and things, and make from time to time such orders and regulations as he may by reason of the existing national emergency deem necessary or advisable for the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada subject to the restrictions enumerated in the said measure."

With these and a half dozen other lines, under an atmosphere of a state of national emergency which they have not yet declared exists, the government has assumed undefined and absolute powers not only over the economy but over the people themselves. While refusing to declare a single action that it would carry out under its new authority, the government demanded all the wide-open powers of the War Measures Act except for a few generally illusory limitations. Under the powers conferred by the act the governor-in-council, by order-in-council, could annul the right of habeas corpus. This bill gives the government a free hand for a national registration.

The house of commons itself, upheld as the symbol of "our demo-

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cratic way of life," has been stripped bare of its powers. St. Laurent's assurances that orders in council, within a certain time after they had been passed and been in effect (a possible 45 days), would be tabled and that parliament by resolution could revoke them, is meaningless. Any attempt by a private member to bring in a motion of annulment would go into the class of notices of motion and then require the upsetting of the rules of the house by unanimous consent—by the grace of the government itself—before such a motion could be brought forward. By this act the house has no means of expressing its opinions on the actions of the government taken under these powers, let alone any control.

The Defence Production Act, carrying forward the government's war mobilization plans, deals with the setting up of a department of defence production. The department will be presided over by the notoriously cynical bureaucrat C. D. Howe, and will be armed with unlimited powers; in the words of the resolution, enabling it to "take steps to mobilize all economic and industrial facilities in respect of defence supplies and defence projects."

Tory leader George Drew scored the act with the declaration "under this legislation this government is setting up for a period of five years the full mechanism of dictatorship—nothing less." Asked if any further powers would be required if Canada were actually at war, St. Laurent replied: "I do not anticipate there would be."

Howe's new powers, which even he characterized as being "of an extraordinary nature," dealing with the undefined and unrestricted topic called the needs of national defence, which in the last

(Continued on page 2)

St. Laurent Takes Dictatorial Powers

(Continued from page 1)

war was interpreted to encompass every phase of human activity including labor's right to strike, the right to change jobs, etc., go far beyond the powers conferred upon him at the height of the last war.

Section 5 of the bill reads "The minister may authorize any person, on his behalf and under his control and direction, to do any act or thing or to exercise any power that the minister may do or exercise under this act."

Aside from thus providing for the creation of an all powerful state bureaucracy the bill provides for the wholesale looting of the public treasury by profit hungry industrialists through the setting up of crown companies. A 100-million dollar feed bag will be placed at the disposal of the Minister. Through these provisions the government will be free to arrange more of the 177¼ million dollar depreciation gifts that it made to the Aluminum Company of Canada last war. To give itself a free hand to accept deals on the terms of the power drunk monopolists and save itself any embarrassments such as the McGregor report, the government has suggested that even the innocuous Combines Investigation Act may be suspended.

The sole opposition to the St. Laurent government's moves to lay all the foundations for the imposition of a police state immediately, it feels it to be necessary and that it can get away with it, came from the Tories. But while they tore the bills and government arguments to shreds their position was succinctly summed up by E. D. Fulton who said of the E.P. Act "we are not opposed to the principle of the bill." Much of their indignation was spent over section 27 (2) (DPA) when they voiced their

anger over the matter of responsibility for losses that might be incurred to an owner through government controllership of his plant.

The CCF M.P.'s, aside from voicing an uneasiness that the government may make deals with Big Business such as would undermine the willingness of the workers to make sacrifices for the war preparations, went right down the line with both bills. Stanley Knowles called to Howe's attention "that so far as this group is concerned we have given the government an affirmative vote on every point in connection with this legislation." CCF M.P.'s chided the Tories for suggesting that the Emergency Powers Act be sent back to be overhauled. "I," said Knowles, "find it difficult to understand why we (the Tory section of the official opposition) should spend so much time blocking the bill (EPA) . . . we (the CCF M.P.'s) certainly voted against any amendment (DPA) limiting the flexibility which the government needs in order to administer a program of price and production controls."

That has been the stupid and treacherous line of the CCF leadership! Without even the slightest assurance that he would bring in price controls, the mere fact that St. Laurent stated the Emergency Powers Act would enable the government to institute them if and when they felt it necessary, bought off the CCF parliamentary caucus.

In the process of selling out the workers and farmers who put them into office by supporting St. Laurent's police state bills, the CCF M.P.'s have passed the very legislation that makes the whole idea of price controls, with any element of effectiveness, absolutely absurd. The Defence Production Act and the colossal expenditures on non-consumer goods that will be made under its authority is certain to set off inflationary pressures that will result in price boosts that will make the last year's look like a mere hazatella.

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**The Canadian Tradition
and the War in Korea**

From September to the end of December the government spent three-quarters of a million dollars for recruiting posters and advertisements. It would be difficult to estimate the cost of the thousands upon thousands of slanted newspaper articles, radio broadcasts and speeches that have been poking away at us since the outbreak of the Korean war.

This flood of high powered propaganda, honeyed words, persuasive words, and threats, has failed to do the job it is intended to do. The Canadian people have not been roused to hate the Korean and Chinese peoples, recruitment to the Korean force has remained at a pitiful low, the Canadian people do not look upon intervention at the side of the U.S. as a crusade, on the contrary, there is a great uneasiness and extensive opposition to involvement of Canadian troops there.

Their feelings do not flow from any lack of concern over the fate of other people, indifference to democracy, justice, rapine, arson, murder, as the propagandists appear to believe and would have us believe is the case. We do not need to be roused into action, coaxed along to recognize our responsibilities by the motley crew of Duplessis, Drew, St. Laurent or even CCF M.P.'s and union bureaucrats.

We, the working people of this country, are the heirs to a great tradition of revolutionary solidarity with the freedom struggles of other peoples in other lands. Our short but turbulent history is a history of heroic struggle for democracy, for freedom, for justice, both at home and abroad. The fact that the rulers of this country always appeal to and try to work on these aspirations of ours is irrefutable testimony that this is true.

It was in recognition that the Canadian people can only be appealed to on the basis of the highest idealism that the capitalist class publicized World War I and II as crusades—the latter as a war for democracy, against fascism, for the Four Freedoms. They knew that they would never have convinced us of the need to sacrifice energy and lives so that dozens of new millionaires could sprout up, so that the banks and industrialists could amass new wealth and five years later the general who led Canadian troops in battle could shake hands with the blood-soaked, swastika-branded hands of the German top brass and the Krupps.

The trouble is, and the capitalist propagandists know it . . . the Canadian people do not believe what Pearson says about the Korean war, that the UN forces are bringing freedom and democracy to the Korean people.

During the American Civil War we did not need to be told by the government what our historic responsibilities were. Then, and as a matter of fact before and since then, our rulers found their side with reaction. The ruling circles wine and dined escaped Southern officers and aided in their recuperation and return to the Southern army. Officials used their authority to protect Confederate bands who used this

country as a home base for border raids on Northern towns.

But the Canadian people turned Canada into the northern terminus for the underground railway where escaped slaves could find security from the Fugitive Slave Law. And our forefathers did not content themselves with even these expressions of sympathy for the North, fighting to preserve the Union and destroy the encroaching slavery. Despite government opposition 50,000 left their homes and loved ones to fight with the revolutionary armies. Over 18,000 died in battle or from wounds.

The significance of this number of volunteers can be gained from Disraeli's belief that even the broadest registration would have yielded no more than 200,000 Canadians for military service at that time.

How this 50,000 pales into insignificance the mere 1,000 volunteers that the Laurier government, 30 years of growth later, felt able to assure the British it could equip and transport to South Africa to help impose imperialist rule on the Boers and open up the country to exploitation by British capital! And Laurier made all the demagogic appeals that Pearson makes today in his attempts to boost the Korean force over the 10,000 mark.

Several hundred more Canadians than Laurier promised Britain made their way to the side of the Spanish revolution of 1936-38, in the face of innumerable difficulties placed in their way by the government, which implicitly backed fascist Franco by enforcing an arms embargo while Hitler and Mussolini fed him arms and troops.

This is the Canadian tradition.

In times of trial, when the souls of men are shaken, the Canadian people have answered, and in defiance of the authorities, have joined, arms in hand, on the side of progress.

The failure of voluntary recruitment to the special Korean force is in keeping with this great tradition. The Canadian people are in ferment, they are thinking as they have at other great turning points in their history. On which side is progress and on which is reaction? Which side deserves support?

As they throw off the charge that the great liberating movements of Asia are mere machinations of the Kremlin oligarchy, the Big Business propaganda machine becomes more violent and goes into higher gear. THEY know what the stakes are. The future of Canadian capitalism itself is involved. Today as never before it stands or falls in its ability to extend itself into the world market . . . and in the support of the people at home for what such extension means in wars and increased burdens.

But all the smears of reaction, like the Family Compact smear that MacKenzie's struggle for democracy was a Russian plot, are doomed to failure.

The debate in the minds of the workers is progressing and developing in favor of the truth. It is becoming clearer to increasing numbers that the Asian people are fighting for democratic and socialist aims against capitalist reaction spearheaded by U.S. Big Business and backed by Canadian capitalism. The decision is being made and it will be made in keeping with the great tradition of the freedom loving Canadian people.

*"The Working Class Is Not . . . Begging for Favors . . ."***TROTSKYIST UNION LEADER SHOWS HOW**

A two weeks' session of the ILO (International Labor Office) Plantation Committee was held in December in Indonesia, with delegations of workers, employers and government bodies from Belgium, Ceylon, Cuba, France, India, Indonesia, Liberia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Portugal and the United Kingdom.

The Ceylon Workers delegation consisted of P. Velapillai, M.P. of the Ceylon Workers Congress, M. G. Mendis of the All-Ceylon Plantation Workers Union, and Dr. Colvin R. deSilva, of the All-Ceylon Estate Workers Union.

We believe the speech of Dr. deSilva which we reprint here, will be of great interest to Canadian workers, whose union leaders serve on the ILO as flunkies of imperialism. Dr. deSilva's address is a model of genuine representation of a worker's organization.—Ed.

Following is deSilva's speech: *

Sir:

I have asked for the rostrum on this occasion because it is necessary to say categorically and publicly that the operative decisions contained in the reports before us do not represent even the level of advance which could have been won at this Conference by the plantation workers through a properly conducted struggle.

It is necessary also to say publicly and categorically that the primary responsibility for this failure to advance the plantation workers' interests adequately at this Conference rests on the shoulders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The activities of the ICTFU at this Conference have proved it to be the organized projection internationally of the most reactionary aspects of European and American trade unionism. Its surrender-approach to every basic demand of the employers has been matched only by the persistence of its maneuvers against every effort to conduct the workers' case here on a fighting line.

The speeches of its accredited leader, the British trade union representative, have in their approach and content only supplemented the fundamental philosophy of the employers' representatives in respect to working class problems. His tenderness for the rights

of private property has not only matched that of the employers but even at times surpassed that of some governmental representatives. In a word, the ICTFU and its chief representative have in this Conference functioned as an almost open agency of the employers within the workers' group.

Sir, I am bound to add that these maleficent activities of the ICTFU have been facilitated by the fact, that in some cases, the so-called workers' representatives are in fact but the representatives of governments, and that, in other cases, the colonial workers have had foisted on them metropolitan trade union officials. This is a ridiculous position, against which I take this opportunity to protest on behalf of the working class movement. I take the liberty of also warning the ILO that by not taking the necessary precautions against this sort of fake representation of the workers, it can only bring itself into disrepute.

There is a third protest I must publicly lodge. There has been far too much of an effort allround to convert the deliberations of the Plantation Workers' Committee into an anti-communist demonstration. The line was given at the outset, characteristically, by the British trade union representative with his dark hint about "knowing our real enemy." It was taken up

more openly by the Chairman of the Employers' group when he spoke of protecting the workers from "professional agitators and Communists." As a Trotskyist myself, that is to say, as a member of the Fourth International, which, basing itself on authentic Marxism, fights for the establishment of revolutionary proletarian democracy in every country in the world, I cannot let these remarks pass. Permit me, therefore, to exchange courtesies in this matter by pointing out that this type of remark comes ill from imperialist exploiters, colonial reactionaries or even their trade union stooges.

Sir, we of the Ceylon Workers' delegation have refused to fall for this diversionist maneuver behind which the employers have sought to displace even the sober report of the ILO on the condition of the plantation workers. We would stress that the enemy of the plantation workers is to be found, not in Moscow or in Peking, but in the great metropolitan centers of Europe and America, and in the colonial regions which they directly or indirectly dominate. Our joint deliberations have underlined this fact, and the reports before us reflect it.

PLANTATION ECONOMY

It is a pity the reports before us do not bring out the true significance of the plantation economy in the backward countries. From the historical and sociological standpoint, the plantations constitute the specific economic form which foreign capitalism adopted for its intrusion into the pre-capitalist countryside of the colonies. Indigenous capital, in its development under the auspices of foreign capital, simply followed in its footsteps.

From the social standpoint, the plantations represent the disruption and even destruction of earlier forms of social organization, the

uprooting of the country-folk from their villages, and, in many a case, their personal transplantation to new communities dominated by the wage relationship.

Here, however, there is an important distinction to be made from the similar process in the metropolitan countries. Although, from the standpoint of technique and organization, the plantations represent nothing but the introduction of the factory system of industry into colonial agricultural production, nevertheless, the plantation owners, operating, as they often do or have done, amidst societies of a pre-capitalist character, have been able to keep the wage relationship anchored to earlier social relations and thereby to thrust their labor force down into a substantially serf or semi-serf position.

That is the true significance of a transplanted, resident labor force in plantation areas which either have never had the village at all or have encircled the village and even wiped it out. And that is why we have had perpetrated in one of the reports today the international joke of resolving solemnly that the resident labourer should, in this 20th century, have the right of entertaining his friends and relatives.

Sir, if the problem is regarded in the above background, it will readily be seen that the fundamental question before the plantation workers is not one simply of more humane recruiting methods, better housing and medical attention, and the like. It is a question of fundamental human rights achievable only in the political field. That is why even the most "moderate" of plantation workers' trade unions is also automatically political: and it is therefore pointless to denounce that fact. And that, too, is why the apparent problems of labor relations turn out to be really problems of property relations, matters in respect of which

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TO SPEAK FOR LABOR

it is impossible for workers to rely on the "impartiality" of the state.

Moreover, sir, unless this fact is firmly grasped, the trade unions can have no real or effective reply to the employers. The employers have insisted here that they have already gone ahead with the provision of medical and other amenities. But what does the claim really amount to? Only that, like every butcher, they fatten their cattle for the slaughter! The point, however, is not the fattening — the issue is the slaughter! And that is why every workers' representative worth the name must repudiate this butcher's approach to the working class instead of adopting it as the ICFTU have done.

FREE, NOT MERELY FAT!

This also is the reason why, sir, the Ceylon Worker's delegation has consistently sought in this Conference to place such issues as the right of entry and meeting, the claim to tenancy rights, and the like, in the very centre of the picture, instead of mere social amenities. The plantation worker requires most to be free and not merely fat! He must be free to order his life as he wills, to organize for his needs, to fight for his rights. Labor which is on a semi-serf or serf footing must necessarily make that the primary issue—and no one who fails to grasp this can correctly conduct the plantation workers' struggle.

Let it be said for the employers' representatives here that they have understood this point beyond cavilling. As their colleague and my compatriot on the other side of the battle line, Mr. J. A. T. Perara, put it: "there is still such a thing as private property." How true! How realistic! How pertinent! It is a statement from the employers' side of a principle of negotiation which every trade unionist should grasp, viz. no negotiation on principles, but only on

their application! In other words, no abandonment of the class struggle, which is precisely a struggle over the question of perpetuating private property in the means of production.

Sir, we of the Ceylon delegation have been attacked by the ICFTU and its allies for standing firm on this principle; but we are impenitent. To the charge that this is politics, we plead guilty; but we also summon both the employers and their government as our associates in crime. They make no bones about political methods and partisanship when fundamental issues are at stake.

To the charge that we are unconciliatory we answer: it is necessary to be intransigent on principled questions, we have never ruled out negotiations on other things.

And to the trade unionists pure and simple, if there be indeed such, who find in us obstacles in the way of their getting little concessions, we say: it is not we who are obstacles but yourselves who pathetically plead for urgent action by the employers in your favor lest the Communist replace you. The working class is not here, or anywhere else for that matter today, begging for favors; it is here, as elsewhere, to fight for its objectives. And that objective, in the case of the plantations, is not crumbs from the tables of the plantation-owners but the plantations themselves.

I understand that the employers have made a persistent drive for plantations to be defined. It is sufficient for us that both they and we can recognize a plantation when we meet it. For the workers seek, not favors, but power. Their demand is not the rationalization of the plantation economy, but the nationalization of the plantations. And, definition or no definition, the workers will achieve it.

LABOR CHALLENGE

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Mid-March, 1951

Truman-Insurrectionist

The clarion call to revolution is rising from new and entirely strange quarters these days. It is being discussed in the top inner circles of the Morgan interests and favorably too. Dean Acheson and Harry Truman have advocated revolution over national networks.

An editorial appearing in one of the big dailies here is liberally sprinkled with such inflammatory words and expressions as "rebellion," "Determined uprisings," "time will make such an insurrection possible," all in the most favorable manner.

The revolution Acheson and Truman are advocating appears to have nothing to do with the Philippines or Puerto Rica. None of these discussions refer to the cause of the freedom fighters in Indonesia, Malaya, Indo-China

The insurrection to which they shout their encouragement, strangely enough, seems to be quite limited, limited to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other Kremlin satellites.

Having noted their establishment of the fact that in these parts the masses have been politically expropriated, therefore the right to insurrection is indisputable, we fear we must call attention to another peculiarity. Nowhere do they define the social objective of their revolution as is traditional with orthodox revolutionaries. Marxists for some time now have been advocating, and within the Soviet Union fighting for, a political revolution that would restore all the elements for a democratic workers' control of the nationalized properties, now under the dead hand of the usurping bureaucracy, and thus forward the march to socialism.

This negligence on the part of these nouveau revolutionists leaves the sneaking suspicion that they desire to destroy the social foundations established by the October Revolution, restore private property and open up the Soviet Union to American capital.

There is another discrepancy which we feel called upon to mention; what about the revolution in North America? Here it seems to us the case for the revolution can be very clearly made. The masses are not yet completely politically expropriated, although even in a parliamentary sense the McCarran bill and the Emergency Powers Act are definite moves along this road. But is there any place in the world where there is greater wealth and technical knowledge at the disposal of man and, in contrast, greater insecurity?

Last month there were 300,000 unemployed here yet there are thousands of homes needed. Inflation is slashing living standards while industry records the highest profits in history. Machines that could ease the labor of man have been introduced on an unprecedented scale but when you are over 40 you are not wanted. The secret of atomic energy has been laid bare only to make bombs. Youths graduate from the colleges, only to be handed fiendish instruments of war.

There is something so fundamentally wrong with the system that holds sway over this continent that all patching and reforms have failed to remedy. It is the private ownership of the means of production . . . production for profit not for use. What is needed is the nationalization of all the key industries and resources, control by the workers, and a planned production and distribution of the necessities and good things of life.

That is the revolution: not the "revolution" that Truman advocates whose purpose is to give new life to the old, and beyond redemption, capitalist order.

Claxton Slips One Over

Resentment to Canada's participation in the imperialist Korean slaughter has been evident from the beginning, and has grown and deepened with the war's unfoldment.

To circumvent this resistance, the government has sought to put over each new war move by haranguing and pleading that it was being done solely in the interests of peace, to bring the war to a close as soon as possible. If anyone still falls for this line, a development occurred recently to scotch it once and for all.

On February 22 Defence Minister Claxton announced that the 25th Infantry Brigade, reserve unit of the Special Force stationed at Fort Lewis, would be sent to Korea. This announcement came after the UN and its war had been sensationally exposed by the outright UN rejection of the Chinese peace proposals, supported by governments representing well over half of the world's population. These peace proposals so obviously destroyed every last pretext for the continuation of the sinister intervention that even the Canadian Government was forced to adopt a hypocritical "go easy" policy in the UN.

When Claxton made his announcement, therefore, he felt compelled to envelope it was the most demagogic peace pretensions, taking advantage of the government's pose of being more pacific than Wall Street. The line was that no country could hope to exercise much influence on Korean policy if it didn't have a considerable force fighting there. Since this announcement came at the very time the U.S. seemed determined to re-cross the 38th parallel, and actually did cross it at one point, Claxton counted on the Canadian people accepting his move under the illusion that the government would exercise what it had led the people to believe would be "restraining" influence.

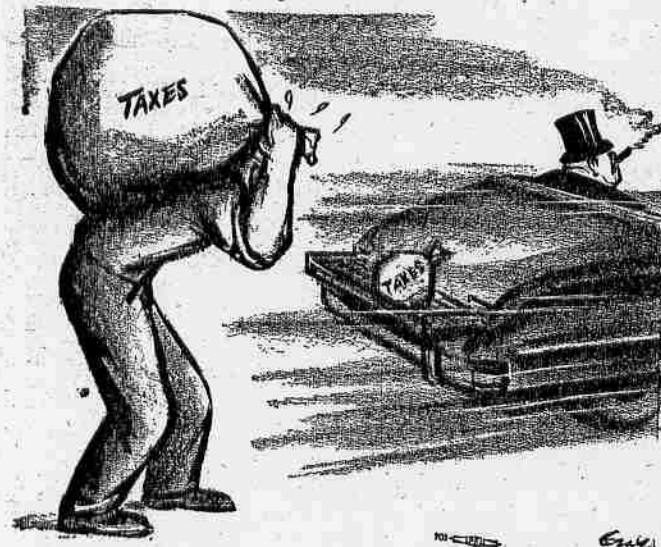
Only three days later the lie was given to this hypocritical manoeuvre, by no less a personage than the American Army Chief of Staff General J. Lawton Collins. He announced that if China used air and sea power to defend its troops, then "we would be forced to hit at enemy bases"—i.e. the world war would be on. Since the majority of troops in Korea are American, said Collins, he believed the U.S. high command was justified in acting on their own. Where was Canada's "restraining" influence? But he had an argument to clinch his bitter announcement with other peoples, including Canadians: since they had so many troops committed in Korea, smirked Collins, they could hardly condemn the bombing of China to "protect" them.

Thus in three days an enlargement of Canada's role in the Korean atrocity in the name of peace becomes an argument for continuation and extension of the war. Was there ever clearer proof of the real aims of the government?

03-15-4

FOR A NTL. UNITED LABOR RALLY

Pay As You Go



**To Hammer Out a Program of Action!
For a Wage Drive, Escalator Clauses
And Consumer's Committees on Prices!**

Cost of Living Soars

The 4.5 point jump in the cost-of-living index during the month of February, announced on April 4, was the greatest rise in any other single month since 1917. "The country is now faced," warns CCF leader M. J. Coldwell, "with runaway inflation."

The government index, long challenged by organized labor as not at all accurately measuring the real boost in living costs, now stands at a peak of 179.7. The February 4.5 jump piles on to the 2.7 increase registered in January. The staggering boost was distributed across all items making up the index but most notably in food where the index rose 9.5 points, more than double the average rise for items in the index.

Under the pressure of mass indignation at these figures which only register boosts in costs of basic necessities that have been in effect almost two months now, Trade Minister Howe dared to guesstimate, weeks ahead of its release, that the March index, if it moved up at all, would not be more than half a point higher than February. Regardless of what the March figure will do to Howe's already unsavory reputation the index will continue to rocket forward with the Abbott budget booster.

For some 100,000 union members and their families the blow, though not completely, was nonetheless considerably tempered. Their union contracts contain various forms of escalator clauses which guarantee automatic wage increases with each rise in the cost of living.

Tied to the government index, not one compiled by labor which would accurately mark out the real rise, their automatic pay increases are not all they should be. But instead of continually being confronted with the task of defending standards past won, these workers, their energies intact, are in a position to improve their situation by increasing base rates.

The organized labor movement in this country has been kicked in the teeth. In the past few months the living standards of its million members, established through long and hard-fought struggles, have been under a steady rain of blows from a raging inflation propelled forward by profit-mad monopolists. Last week Prime Minister St. Laurent and Trade Minister Howe met delegations from all four trade union bodies and heard the demands of their members. But in the budget that was brought down every last one of these demands was arrogantly ignored.

The government didn't just ignore the demand for price controls, a prices and trade board with labor representatives which could alone approve price changes. It brazenly flouted the appeal for larger income tax exemptions, a comprehensive social security program including a national health insurance plan, old age pensions without a means test, low rent housing, federal aid for education, etc. Instead of granting any one of these demands it brought down a budget which the executive council of the 500,000 strong Trades and Labor Congress characterized as being aimed "directly at the working people to force them down to lower living standards."

The question, "WHERE DO WE

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INTERNATIONALISM MAY DAY, 1951

May Day, a day dedicated to the international solidarity of labor, will not be celebrated here on any grand scale. Most Canadian workers will read about massive demonstrations that shook the teeming cities of Europe and Asia, of colossal rallies that took place in other parts of the globe, but in so far as keeping May Day, in the spirit of its great traditions, this responsibility and honour will fall on the shoulders of individuals of workers scattered across the country.

This doesn't mean that May Day is dead—not by a long shot. Neither the workers here officially recognize it or not this year, the

St. Laurent's War Budget Hoists Taxes, Soaks Poor

By BARRY BRENT

Workers who are reeling under the boss war-budget will be happy to learn that Mr. Abbott warns them in his budget speech that there must be "a much sharper increase in per capita output than we have ever had in the past." Longer hours, less pay, raging inflation—the purpose: WAR. The capitalists are preparing to fight for their profits in the worker's last dollar, to his last ounce of energy — to say nothing of his life. Ray Street's

predict at least a 10 per cent. hike in the cost of living as a direct result of the budget. Throughout the country the cartels are using

most 50 per cent since 1946, while the industrial labor force has risen only 12 per cent. The workers are producing more than ever before and receiving less and less.

Savings declined 30 per cent last year, and credit buying rose to new heights. Abbott's latest budget two thirds of which is earmarked for war, present, past and

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"GO FROM HERE?" is now uppermost in the mind of every worker.

The executive council of the Canadian Congress of Labor has given the lead in its summoning of "an emergency meeting of representatives of its unions to determine a course of action in the interests of our own membership and the Canadian people generally who are being made the victims of outrageous and unwarranted price increases."

This action of the CCL executive cannot help but be met with the utmost enthusiasm of all CCL-CIO members. The CCL leadership is on the right track—an emergency meeting of local representatives to determine a course of action—only it must be extended to encompass all labor. A call for a NATIONAL UNITED LABOR CONFERENCE must immediately go out—a date and a place named.

All four trade union centers must unite in their massive strength and in unity forge out a program to meet the present emergency.

It is now crystal clear that there is nothing to be gained by going cap in hand to the government of profit-bloated trusts and monopolists that sits in Ottawa. Since the government has refused to institute price controls of any kind the question of the effectiveness of controls in such hands as theirs is no longer a matter for debate. Action is needed and action now.

If there are to be price controls

they can only be established through such a body as a United Labor Conference by the formation of mass consumers' committees. Committees of housewives, unionists, clerks, small shopkeepers in collaboration with farmers can be formed to investigate price spreads, probe into warehouses and root out goods stored for speculation, check into the price of every article through and as it leaves the processes of production till it reaches the consumer. They could open the books of Big Business, reveal the business secrets of the monopolists, their machinations of exploitation, robbery and fraud.

The escalator clause, too, is no longer a matter of debate. In the past six months, in the case of 100,000 unionists, it has proven itself to the hilt to be the most effective defence against inflationary wage cuts. For the hundreds of thousands of workers not covered by such a clause immediate wage increases must be won to cancel out the wage cuts they have already suffered, and the new gains defended by escalator clauses inserted in their contracts.

But the precise program and its implementation can well be left in the hands of the conference itself. The task now is to take up the CCL executive's call, broaden it to make it a call for A UNITED CONFERENCE OF ALL LABOR and hold the conference that will determine the course of action.

LABOR CHALLENGE

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Mid April, 1951

A Glimpse Into the Future

Anybody who thinks the Canadian workers aren't going to resist, on the most massive and militant scale, the deprivations and police state rule being prepared for them by the capitalists and their government should ponder well the crack-up of the B.C. Coalition Government and learn wisdom from it.

The two capitalist parties on the West Coast put aside their demagogic "differences" and merged to forestall a CCF victory. Achieving this end, the CCF won only a pitiful number of seats at Victoria, they decided that since they were no longer compelled to tack against each other on the stormy waters of public sentiment, they could afford to perform closer to the deepest aims and desires of their capitalist interests and masters than any other government in like circumstances has yet felt free to attempt.

One of their fond hopes was to throw the entire costs of the decrepit hospital system on the backs of the people, refusing to assess industry for this purpose or to subsidize. Under the fig-leaf of a "hospital insurance" system they levied a heavy toll on the workers' paychecks. But far from "insurance" the hospital situation has worsened—a young woman in danger of miscarriage was denied space in the crowded buildings in Vancouver.

Let alone making any moves, even on paper, to redress this situation, the government "attacked the problem by the typical capitalist method of attacking the workers; it announced an increase in the stiff "insurance" rates. That was too much. A storm has broken loose that promises not to leave one stone upon the other of this capitalist Coalition. B.C. labor is circulating a mass petition for the resignation of the government; a CCL shop stewards meeting was asked to entertain a motion approving of a one-hour work stoppage. There are indications that but for the restraints of the union leadership such action would probably have been taken.

And what ignited this upsurge? An increase in hospital insurance rates! When the capitalist war preparations really begin to bear down on the people, what can we not expect of our confident, undefeated Canadian working class?

04-15-2

INTERNATIONALISM MAY DAY, 1951

May Day, a day dedicated to the international solidarity of labor, will not be celebrated here on any grand scale. Most Canadian workers will read about massive demonstrations that shook the teeming cities of Europe and Asia, of colossal rallies that took place in other parts of the globe, but in so far as keeping May Day, in the spirit of its great traditions, this responsibility and honour will fall on the shoulders of handfuls of workers scattered across the country.

This doesn't mean that May Day is dead—not by a long shot. Whether the workers here officially recognize it or not this year, the spirit of internationalism is more firmly implanted in their minds than at any time in their history.

The spirit of internationalism stalks the globe. It doesn't color the thinking of just those who are schooled in the ideas of Marx—the scientific socialists. It colors the thinking of all peoples, of all classes as never before. It runs the whole gamut of expression from the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution; to the Cominform, an alliance of Kremlin stooges bent on tying the world proletariat to a deal between the Soviet bureaucracy and Wall Street; through the hazy dreams of the World Federalists; right to the United Nations—a device to forge a capitalist war alliance for assault on the USSR and on the independence struggles of the colonial peoples.

The capitalist class are internationalist — their internationalism takes on the form of imperialism. But today significantly they feel compelled as never before to mask their imperialist machinations, to cloak them with the sanctity of a crusade against an "aggressor" and would-be "oppressor" nation, to soap them with demagogic pronouncements on economic aid to "backward" and war-ravaged peoples, and to stamp them with the emblem of the United Nations.

Even the labor bureaucrats, who didn't used to see further than a few feet past the dues wicket, are talking internationalism. Along with them the nationally minded CCF leadership have begun to venture into the realm of international politics and develop a world viewpoint even if it can hardly be called their own.

It was they of course who, as with the question of intervention in Korea, glossed up the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact for more ready acceptance by the workers. But if capital needed the labor bureaucracy to do this job it can only mean that it is of the opinion that the workers are more and more concerning themselves with the foreign politics of the government, with international politics. And it can only mean that capital believes the workers have such grave doubts about its politics that they can be stilled only by demagoguery, spouted off, not by its own political hacks, but by leaders that the workers still generally trust.

The CCL has launched a campaign among its members to raise funds for leadership training in trade unions of the Far East. What unmitigated gall—that the CCL leadership should presume to instruct the young and militant Asiatic trade union movement. What colossal nerve that such as they should flatter themselves that they can teach anything of genuine value to the leader of the All-Ceylon Estate Workers Union whose superb speech to the Indonesian sessions of the ILO Plantation Committee we reproduced in the last issue of Labor Challenge.

Whatever the purpose of this campaign to which Steel has subscribed \$25,000—even if it were a fardoomed attempt to pervert the colonial labor movement—it is all done in the spirit of an appeal to internationalism, solidarity of Canadian and Asiatic labor.

The Canadian capitalist class is being projected into playing an increasingly more important role in world politics. Its national policy towards labor is increasingly determined by its international politics. The latest burdensome budget is justified on the basis of "our" international commitments. The workers must inevitably ask: what are these commitments that demand such sacrifices of us?

The threat of war, with weapons which hold such peril for the survival of civilization, is forcing the workers to widen their horizon. They are being compelled to question the role of the government in world politics and to increasingly identify themselves with forces whose interests conform with their own.

May Day is today the property of the vanguard. Tomorrow it will be the property of the class. The increasing concern and opposition to the use of Canadian troops against the Koreans testify that future May Days will hear the slogans of international labor solidarity resounding through the streets of Vancouver, Windsor and Montreal.

TROTSKYISM AND THE CCF

04-15-3

The question of Trotskyism is an ever recurring one in the struggle between the more far-seeing and courageous rank and file CCFers and the Coldwell leadership.

In his special release to the Liberal-supporting Vancouver Sun, which jumped at the chance to discredit the CCF by giving a big play to the leadership's anti-democratic assault on the Fellowship, at a time when the Coalition government is reeling under the rising protest movement to the boost in hospital tax, B.C. provincial president Grant MacNeil raised the scare of Trotskyism. Referring to a report of a provincial council meeting that appeared in the Mid-February issue of Labor Challenge he dragged in the Revolutionary Workers Party. "They must have had their agents there in the guise of CCF members," he informed the Sun.

The Fellowship meeting, where the motion to disband passed, was warned by a leading member who supported dissolution that some of the Fellowship had been designated by the bureaucrats as Trotskyists.

At the last national convention Coldwell, justifying his increasing identity of the party with the policies of the St. Laurent government with the cynical comment that "sometimes they're pretty strange people whom we have to stand with," went out of his way to slander the Trotskyists as "just the other side of the Stalinist coin, just as dogmatic and ruthless, just as undemocratic and just as fanatically devoted to the Leninist tactics of divide and rule."

Even the late Minister of Labor, Humphrey Mitchell, had occasion to warn the House of Commons that one of the Left's ex-leaders "talks like a Trotskyite." As for the Stalinists, Leslie Morris, editor of the CANADIAN TRIBUNE, has branded the B.C. Left as Trotskyist "organized treachery and counter-revolution."

WHAT'S BEHIND IT ALL

All the hue and cry about Trotskyism isn't due to the fact that the Trotskyists have been able to organize a mass party in this country entering on a broad and effective scale into the class struggle, establishing new gains, striking out new paths for the workers. This is all in the future—unfortunately as yet only a limited number of workers have carved through the barriers in their way to join the ranks of organized Trotskyism, the RWP. But Trotskyism is an issue—in fact it is the issue—by the sheer fact of its program—its Marxist-Leninist program.

There are three parties on the labor front—the reformist CCF, the Stalinist Labor Progressive Party and the Revolutionary Workers Party. Any others, regardless of their present strength or influence in relation to that of the RWP, are of no significance. They can be properly designated sectarian—without a perspective. The RWP, armed with its transitional program, is viable. Only it, of any of the other political groupings, has a perspective of growth, of moving forward with the maturing of the class struggle in this country and of intervening to give effective leadership to the struggle for socialism.

The RWP doesn't even begin to compare with the other two in size, resources or influence but it is appreciation of the viability of Trotskyism that causes the Stalinists to turn so much of their attention and energy to the RWP. How else to explain their fanatical, murderous hatred? It is for the same reason that the Coldwell leadership devotes a considerable portion of its energies to the struggle against "Trotskyism" within the CCF.

It is no accident that at every turn and from all sides the CCF opposition to the Coldwell line is met with the charge of Trotskyism. It isn't by any means always a mere device as MacNeil uses it to sustain the false charge that the Fellowship is a body of people with another loyalty than to the CCF, so to speak. There is a fundamental truth in this "charge" of Trotskyism.

The Fellowship, on the basis of its own experiences, came to some profound conclusions about the social role of the Coldwell leadership and reformism. It was in the process of assimilating these experiences into a unified whole—of developing a revolutionary theory—when the Coldwell leadership brought the axe down on its head. There is only one revolutionary theory, one unified doctrine of revolutionary socialism—that is Marxism-Leninism—in this period known as Trotskyism. There have been numerous attempts to develop a new revolutionary theory but none have stood the harsh blows of history. This is no pompous boast but a simple statement of fact. The inevitable process of development, its inner logic, was for the Fellowship to develop towards Trotskyism. Coldwell and Morris, in varying degrees of consciousness, understand this and so did Humphrey Mitchell.

The forces that first gathered around Labor Challenge were shaped in the struggle against the Stalinization of the Communist Party of Canada. In 1946 these forces were augmented, and not accidentally, by the addition of a group of leaders of a left wing that had formed, in the process of experiences similar in many ways to the Fellowship's, within the B.C. and Ontario CCF and CCYM. These leaders broke from the CCF and helped raise the banner of the independent revolutionary socialist party in this country.

THE RWP AND THE CCF

It was their conviction that the socialist revolution could be best expedited at that juncture of events in this way—through an independent party of revolutionary socialists with an independent organ making a direct appeal to the Canadian masses.

Labor Challenge from its very first issue has supported the CCF. It continued to do so while it welcomed these additions to its ranks and still does, regardless of the right turn registered at the last national convention which has been continuing to effect the course of the movement. While the RWP is independent of the CCF, it is not in opposition to the CCF in the real meaning of the word; as a class movement. Its true relationship to the CCF would be most properly expressed by it being an affiliate of the CCF such as the old Independent Labor Party was in the days before the Coldwell gang tore this provision out of the constitution.

The LPP is in fundamental opposition to the CCF even if on one of its zigs it may make overtures to it. The LPP's orientation to the CCF, as to the Canadian working class and poor farmers, as determined solely by the interests of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union in its diplomatic maneuverings and deals with the world bourgeoisie. It has nothing in common with the interests of the revolution.

The orientation of the RWP to the CCF on the contrary is determined by the recognition of the CCF as a stage in the radicalization of the Canadian people. It is true that its program is reformist, that its present leaders act as transmission belts for liberal capitalist ideology into labor's ranks—but Marxists take their orientation from the general significance of the movement in the unfolding class struggle.

The issue confronting the B.C. Left is clear. How most effectively can the revolutionary party be built? By the immediate augmentation of its forces to the independent revolutionary socialist party, the RWP—or by continuing the struggle for a socialist policy within the CCF?

The Left will not be deterred in their course by the hypocritical moanings of MacNeil who, after prohibiting the Fellowship from carrying out its appointed task open and above board, cries that "a recalcitrant minority within the Socialist Fellowship defiantly stated their intention to employ undercover methods to accomplish their original purpose." Nor will they be turned from their course by the mock heroics of one of their own, John Smith, who joins the hullabaloo, through the grace of the CCF News editor to deride those who would now "use 'strategy' and 'tactics' rather than face the threat of possible expulsion." It is necessary to carry on the liberating struggle for socialism regardless of the conditions that reaction imposes.

Even if the Left makes the latter decision—to continue on in its struggle for the revolutionary party through the CCF, this can only mean the grasping of the Trotskyist program. These two and no other courses are open to it.

By Paul Kane

THE RWP IN ACTION

The Toronto Branch of the RWP reports some snappy propaganda work at the opening rally of the Peace Congress held there on April 7.

Several of the comrades greeted the delegates coming from many points across the country with sample copies of the Mid-March issue of Labor Challenge refolded so that Ross Dowson's article on the Peace Congress appeared on the outside. Ken reports that unlike last year when the Stalinists were able to convince and prevent many from taking a copy, the reception was friendly with only one or two destroying. In the Stalin-Hitlerite tradition, the copies we handed them.

While the distribution was going on and delegates were gathering outside the church hall other comrades did a good job of selling pamphlets. The sight of Trotskyists selling Lenin's War and the Workers threw the Stalinist hacks into a rage. Barry talked up the idea that Lenin's program, the Trotskyist policy of anti-capitalist, socialist struggle, was the only way to fight the war preparations. To the embarrassment of the officials he heaped scorn on the line of British Tory Dr. Woodward, slated to speak at the closing rally, that "Peace is above politics." Nine Lenin pamphlets and six other pamphlets including several of the 1946 Manifesto of the Fourth International, Only Victorious Socialist Revolutions Can Prevent the Third World War, were sold.

A few weeks previous a couple of comrades covered one of the Labor Progressive Party's "Marxist" Lectures at which Tim Buck spoke. The attendance was a mere 25-30. Most of the audience took the paper and several hung around for a while to discuss the meaning of the Italian and Czech Communist Party crises with our comrades.

Vancouver reports a successful forum with Joseph Hansen, Trotsky's secretary at the time of his assassination, speaking. Comrade Hansen gave an excellent address on the forces driving American capitalism to war on the Soviet Union and the maturing of the American workers under the experiences of Korea and the garrison economy that is being thrust upon them. Prior to his Vancouver appearance Comrade Hansen addressed an enthusiastic audience of Toronto members and friends of the RWP.

Comrades seeking renewals from subscribers who have neglected to renew their subscriptions report a much more favorable response and interest in the paper today than they got four and five months ago. "It must be the rising inflation and all the thinking that's going on about Korea and Canada's involvement," writes one of our renewal getters. . . . The decks are being cleared for this summer's sub campaign.

ORGANIZE NEW GERMAN PARTY

The Independent Workers Party of Germany held its founding convention March 24 and 25 in Worms, marking a new stage in the development of this new revolutionary organization which originated in a group of leaders who were expelled by the Stalinists.

The Stalinists attempted to break up the convention by means of a violent attack on the delegates, but were completely unsuccessful. Only about 15 or 20 Stalinist hoodlums were rallied against the new party convention; attempts to arouse workers in support of the Stalinist attack fell flat.

The new party publishes a newspaper, Freie Tribune, which reports that the anti-Stalinist, anti-imperialist program of the organization is gathering growing support from the dissident elements in the German Communist Party, and from the young workers in the factories and mines.

On July 23, 1950, leading members of the German CP who were expelled for criticizing Stalin's

policies, formed a provisional committee for the founding of an Independent Workers Party of Germany. At the first conference of the group a resolution was adopted which stated, "The German CP does not carry on a policy of struggle against the oppression of the working class, but is in the service of the interests of the foreign policy of the USSR."

"The Social Democracy," the resolution stated, "continues its role of 'physician for dying capitalism.'" Thus, the new organization is independent of both the Stalinists and the social-patriotic reformists.

Prior to the convention the group had adopted a militant program aimed at rallying the German working class in a fight against both the German capitalists and the imperialists who prop up the Krupps and other industrialists.

The new party opposes the re-militarization of Germany, and demands a referendum on the question of German rearmament.

04-15-4

THIS IS THE KIND OF FOREIGN POLICY THE CANADIAN PEOPLE REALLY WANT

1. Withdraw all Canadian troops from Korea!
2. Recognize the government of New China!
3. Let the Canadian people vote on the issue of war and peace in a national referendum!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Labor Challenge

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Rightists Take BC CCF Convention

LEFT WINGERS FAIL TO TAKE FIRM STAND

The Coldwell-backed MacNeill leadership rode roughshod over the rights and political aspirations of the B.C. CCF membership at the B.C. CCF provincial convention held in Vancouver May 18, 19 and 20. Under the hammer blows of the MacNeill-Mendels clique the 30-odd Leftists among the 130 delegates were in retreat from the opening session on. Disorganized by the bureaucratic suppression and frameup of the Socialist Fellowship, without a unified policy and desperately seeking some kind of compromise with the Right, the Left carried out a harassing action against the Right's assault but went down to defeat.

The full weight of the machine was brought into play against the Left. President MacNeill set the pace in his opening report to the Friday afternoon session with his cynical attack on "the idea that controversy would be healthy and stimulating for the movement" and his attack on the Fellowship, organized by longtime and unquestionably loyal members of the CCF to fight for a socialist policy in the party, as "organized dissension."

Immediately on the heels of MacNeill's assault came first vice-president Laura Jamieson's report of her tenure of office. She used her report to attack fellow executive members. She chided the socialists not to take their struggle too seriously as "the struggle for human liberty has been going on for a long time and the socialists are not the only ones who have been fighting for it." She counselled the anti-war delegates to follow the lead of CCF founder James Woodsworth who "remained a pacifist to the end" but who nonetheless supported the Second Imperialist World War.

Both Secretary Jessie Mendels

(Continued on page 2)

Graduation Gift from St. Laurent



IRAN'S MASSES RISE AGAINST BRITISH RULERS

"What does the free world mean to us when we cannot have its support in our fight for independence and political freedom?" That was the bitter question asked by the conservative daily *Keyhan*, published in Teheran, the capital of Iran.

Not only does Iran not have the support of the so-called "free world"; it is faced with dire threats by that world. And for what? For the crime of "fighting for independence and political freedom" . . . for fighting for control of the only great natural wealth of their poverty-stricken land—oil.

The Anglo-Iranian Oil company, whose chief owner is the British state, presently fronted by the Labor Government, has virtually run Iran for decades. It arbitrarily rules a territory of some 100,000 square miles, and with its capitalization of well over a billion dollars, is the largest British foreign investment left.

The Iranian government from top to bottom has been completely under the thumb of British imperialism. The reigning Shah is the son of a sergeant in the Iranian

army. Imperialism lost much of its basic strength—the ability to terrorize the people with the myth of its invincibility.

But the British Labor Government, which fronts for the oil monopolists, refused to recognize the new situation. Last January they flatly turned down a mild offer to operate the oil fields on a 50-50 basis. Instead they resorted to a traditional imperialist tactic. They cut off all payments to the Iranian government. Some two million Iranian civil employees have received no salaries for months. On top of this the oil market recently ordered wage cuts. But this time the repressive moves backfired.

From the beginning, the oil nationalization was forced on the servile Iranian government by the revolutionary masses. Great strikes developed in the oil regions; and the upsurge against imperialism was coupled with a social movement against the Iranian capitalist class. Martial law was proclaimed by the Iranian government in various cities. This gives the lie to those "leftist" apologists for imperialism who pretend that all that is at stake in Iran is a struggle for the division of profits between the Iranian capitalists and the oil trust.

This mass ferment also lies behind the flat rejection by the Iranian government of the U.S. note backing up Britain, and the Iranian Foreign Minister's charge against the U.S. of meddling in Iran's internal affairs. The U.S. at first attempted to utilize the situation to move into Iranian oil at the expense of its British rivals; but in the face of the fundamental

Escalator Clause Rouses Heated Debate in Unions

By ROSS DOWSON

The National Advisory Policy Committee of the United Steelworkers Union, meeting to discuss the emergency brought on by the runaway inflation that is slashing its 50,000 members' living standards, has issued a policy statement. Top steel representatives defended this policy at the CCL National Emergency Conference.

The committee recommended that locals replace escalator clauses with "provision for open-end clauses through which interim wage increases may be obtained between contract dates."

National director C. H. Millard assailed the escalator clauses written into contracts of Packinghouse, Auto and Woodworker locals, encompassing 120,000 Canadian workers, as being "frequently . . . a snare and a delusion."

This attack on the escalator clause sometimes known as the sliding scale of wages, comes at a time when it has proven, as at no other time since it was first advocated by the world-wide Trotskyist movement in 1938, to be the most effective action that can be taken by organized labor against inflationary wage cuts.

On May 8th, backing up their demand that the government grant them an adjustment in their escalator clause and salary increases to meet the rising cost of living, all Italian state employees participated in a 24-hour general strike.

The over 1,100,000 strikers were supported by the entire trade union movement. In their 1948 struggles against the government the French working class made the escalator clause their primary demand.

Here in Canada the United Packinghouse Workers, who along with Steel signed a two-year contract last year, have gained 14 cents an hour through an escalator clause. Steel in the same period was forced by the rising cost of living to re-open its contract. It wrung only a 5-cent increase out of the Steel barons. The Packinghouse Workers' 14 cents, 9 cents more than Steel, was guaranteed them in the last contract they won from the meat trusts. It was through the escalator clause which automatically adjusts the Packinghouse workers' weekly pay envelope 1 cent per hour for every 1.3 point rise in the cost of living that this 14 cents was won.

In order to justify Steel's policy in the face of these obvious benefits Millard falsely proclaims that the escalator clause "does not in fact maintain present standards let alone give workers their share of added productivity," and ended up with a demagogic comment on labor's responsibility to "pensioners and others on fixed incomes."

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Union Debate Roused By Escalator Clauses

(Continued from page 1)

whose income should be on an escalator basis, but, who are not covered by union contracts. The answer, as the cost of living continues to cut away at labor's income, is not yet escalator clauses but as yet visionary all-out price controls, according to Millard.

In his attack on the escalator clause Millard adds nothing to the arguments of the Stalinists who have opposed it from the start and who, despite all their fulminations against it, signed through the United Electrical Union last month an escalator clause at the Toronto Amalgamated Electric plant; and this month another for the 7,000 employees at Peterborough and Toronto General Electric plants — at 2-year contract, improvement factor, and all.

While the unbridgeable gap between their words and actions would justify the complete ignoring of the Stalinist arguments against the escalator clause it is worth commenting on their line of attack. They say all and more than Millard says. In their long unprincipled opposition to this "Trotskyite" proposal (only last April 9 Stalinist Labor expert J. B. Salsberg devoted his whole column in the Canadian Tribune to smear it) they have developed the attack in all its demagogic subtleties.

The fundamental line developed by all of its opponents is to attempt to undermine the principle by pointing up the various shortcomings in escalator clauses that have already been signed by important sections of U.S. and Canadian labor.

Most of the escalator clauses have been signed into 2-year contracts such as the Stalinist-led UE's or 5-year contracts such as Reuther's GM contract. The bosses have been somewhat softened up to acceptance of the escalator clause on the basis of the industrial labor peace promised by such long term contracts. The labor bureaucrats, desiring the same stability as the bosses, were compelled to hold something out to the ranks in return but there is nothing in the books that says escalator clauses must be signed into long term contracts. Militants will continue to fight for one year contracts AND the escalator clause.

All escalator clauses to date are tied to the government cost-of-living index which everyone knows only partially reflects the real boost in the cost of living. The majority tally up increases only at regular 3-month intervals . . . some at six-month intervals . . . so that months sometimes, during which considerable rises in the cost of living have taken place, pass by before there is any reckoning in pay envelopes. But there is nothing in the principle of the escalator clause that says they must be esti-

mated at 3 or 6 month intervals, and nothing that says that the research departments of the million strong labor movement of this country could not develop a cost of living index of their own.

Even so, long intervals, inaccurate index, and all, those workers covered by escalator clauses have gained a real protection from inflation. All honest militants would only direct their efforts to straightening out these shortcomings.

Salsberg pontificates that the escalator means "implied acceptance of existing wage levels as adequate," that it is "essential freezing of wage levels;" Millard that it doesn't "give workers their share of added productivity." It takes a considerable amount of brass, of studied hypocrisy, to level such a criticism against the escalator clause—to even pose the problem of increasing labor's relative share of the goods it produces at a time like this. Under the leadership of Millard, Salsberg and their ilk, the workers haven't been able to hang onto standards previously won let alone even think of increasing their share of the national wealth.

How can labor defend what it has already won from the inflationary profit gouging of Big Business? This is the question that Millard and Salsberg must face up to or be rejected as unconscionable demagogues and misleaders.

The escalator clause is the answer. It is, of course, a protective device. It is not a substitute for a struggle for new gains, for a new round of wage increases, a struggle to increase labor's share of production, but a device to defend already established gains from being whittled away by inflation. Its purpose is to sustain real wages at the level established at the time of contract signing by assuring that the depreciated currency with which the bosses pay off labor is adjusted upward with the rising cost of living. That the escalator can go down, as Salsberg warns with mock concern, should the cost of living decline, results in no loss to those covered by escalator clauses. They had protection that proved unnecessary. Their base pays, which are unaffected by the escalator, are the same as the base pays of those without the escalator and they will remain untouched. At any rate UAW, Oshawa Local 222 (Skinner's) has shown that it is possible to win one way escalator clauses—up only.

As a substitute for the escalator clause Steel's Advisory Policy Committee and J. B. Salsberg offer the inflation-harassed union ranks wage reopener clauses, open-end wage clauses. What a miserable substitute!

Under such an arrangement the union negotiating committee, as

the cost of living cuts into their members' real wages, (nothing to do with increased productivity or the bosses' profits, you will note,) would approach the boss and go through the rigamarol that was just completed a few months previously to win a wage increase. If the employer stalls the committee will back up its demands with the voice of the membership which has just ebbed from the high pitch it attained prior to signing of the contract. If conciliation is resorted to it may, as in a recent case in Ontario, take nine months between commencement of negotiations and the completion of conciliation. In the meanwhile the rank and file are suffering slashing blows at their living standards. Covered by an escalator clause the ranks would have received an automatic increase under the terms laid down when the contract was settled.

Millard offers another "substitute" which isn't a substitute at all—all-out price controls. We do not see that Packinghouse with an escalator is less able to join in a struggle for price controls than is Steel without an escalator—price controls by the capitalist government as Millard suggests or by consumer's committees as we have advocated.

Salsberg draws two more her-

rings across the trail before skulking away: one that the escalator clause accepts "as normal and fair . . . the inordinately high profits of industry," the other that it undermines labor militancy.

How does the escalator clause accept profiteering by the bosses any more than does an open-end wage clause? The profiteering is a fact. All labor having escalator clauses would in our mind be a powerful deterrent to Big Business profiteering, knowing that it would have to fork out wage increases with every price increase. As for labor's militancy . . . the biggest factor undermining Canadian labor militancy since the inspiring struggles of 1946 has been the losing battle that labor has fought against inflationary wage cuts. We do not think that the loss of 12- and 13-cent wage increases after three and four months of strike is particularly conducive to militancy. The escalator clause guaranteeing that the wages of those under its terms are defended from inflation, on the contrary, preserves the fighting strength of the union rank and file, leaving them free from carrying on the continual and wearing down defensive struggle to project their forces into a struggle to gain higher base pays, to win the benefits of increased productivity, etc.

LABOR CHALLENGE

Heroic Bolivian Miners' Leaders Face Death, Ask International Aid

Since receipt of this article a military junta has seized control in Bolivia blocking the exiled Victor Paz Estenssoro, leader of the National Revolutionary Party (MNR), who won the May 6th presidential election, from taking office. The first act of the junta was to declare a state of siege, ban strikes and mobilize the army to crush the militant working class movement.

LA PAZ, BOLIVIA—After a frameup trial at Uncia, capital of Bustillo province, in March 1951, the Bolivian court, acting as a protective agency for the tin magnates, imposed death sentences upon Juan Poseda and three other leaders of the Miners Union in*

Catavi and condemned six others to ten-year prison terms. They were falsely accused of killing two American engineers and two Bolivian superintendents in connection with the big May 1949 strikes which were ruthlessly suppressed by government troops brought in to break the tin miners' union.

It is reported that a second trial is being prepared for May involving national leaders of the Federation of Bolivian Mine Workers Union such as Guillermo Lora, Nelson Capellino, Juan Lechin, Cesar Torrenzos, Mario Torres and others. These mine leaders, who include prominent Trotskyists and their sympathizers, have been accused of responsibility for the "agitation" leading to the violence in these strikes.

The actual violence, and provocation to violence, were on the side of the mining magnates, the police and the strike-breaking troops. The soil of the Bolivian mine districts has been soaked with workers' blood in the past decade through large-scale acts of terror instigated by the feudal-minded operators. In 1942 the mining oligarchy massacred over one thousand workers in Catavi in response to their demand for higher wages. In 1946 hundreds of workers from the mining area of Potosi were assassinated by the police

and by government shock-brigades brought in to crush the workers.

WANT WORKERS GOV'T

The miners responded to these actions by the coalition government (which was supported by the Stalinists) by sending a group of deputies and senators to parliament who were sympathetic to or associated with the Revolutionary Workers Party, Bolivian Section of the Fourth International. At the same time the miners staged tremendous demonstrations in the mine fields and in the cities condemning the capitalist regime and advocating the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government.

Alarmed by the rising revolutionary resistance of the workers, the coalition tyranny set about to "put an end to the intolerances of extremism that operate within the labor organizations." The reaction decided to deliver its first and most powerful blow in Catavi, the chief center of the mine workers. In September 1947 the Patino mines fired all the union leaders there as "dangerous agitators." When the workers refused to be intimidated, the Patino mines, with the acquiescence of the coalition government, laid off the entire personnel of 10,000 workers and then rehired new workers under worse conditions and lower wages. Company-controlled stores raised their prices 20 per cent.

This union-busting scheme failed when the new workers in turn asked for wage increases and made other demands. Upon the company's refusal, they appealed for arbitration to the conciliation board of the Ministry of Labor.

Thereupon the government and mine-owners connived to wipe out the Federation of Mine Workers Union and replace it with a company union. Only 12 persons joined this fake outfit. Unable to provoke a split in the workers' ranks, the Patino bosses resorted to more cynical and open methods of provocation. They prevailed upon the government to send two regiments of troops into Catavi and to proclaim martial law in the mining district. In addition, the government sent over 100 police agents as provocateurs and disrupters into the miners' organizations.

The arbitration tribunal handed down a decision which granted certain wage increases to the Patino workers but did not satisfy their demands, including the demand that their own union organization be recognized. The government decreed that both the company and the workers should abide by the arbitration decision of the Labor Ministry. However, the company refused to do so in order to provoke the workers.

On June 28, 1949 four members of the mine workers union at Catavi, including its secretary, were arrested. The rumor spread through the district that the government intended to shoot them. The enraged miners, arming themselves with dynamite and hand grenades, attacked the troops and mining police. For days there were pitched battles and bloody encounters between the workers and soldiers. All the miners and petroleum workers of Bolivia took up arms

but were defeated. The principal working-class leaders were exiled to Chile.

During the struggles in Catavi the workers held various high employees of the Patino mines as hostages and gave the commandant of the troops an ultimatum to free their leaders. A few hours later the workers heard that their leaders had been shot. This report so angered them that two American engineers and two Bolivian superintendents were killed in retaliation. It is for these actions that the mine leaders of Catavi have now been condemned to death and the leaders of the Federation of Mine Workers Unions are being placed on trial. The leaders of the Mine Workers Federation have brought forward abundant documentary evidence to prove they played no part in the killings and that the accusations against them and all the convicted workers are without foundation.

TIN MILLIONAIRES

It is clear that the tin mining millionaires and the government in their service are determined to make an example of the leaders and the best militants of the Miners Federation in order to save their company union and crush the resistance of the tin miners. U.S. capitalists have a considerable interest in the ownership and profits of the Bolivian mines.

The Miners Federation and the Revolutionary Workers Party have appealed to the workers of other countries to aid the mine leaders in Bolivia whose lives are threatened by the government of the mining magnates there. Protests against the frame-up trials and death sentences and appeals for freeing the victims should be sent to the Bolivian government by all labor organizations.



TROTSKYISM

AROUND THE GLOBE

The present crisis in human culture is the crisis in the proletarian leadership. The advanced workers, united in the Fourth International, show their class the way out of the crisis. They offer a program based on international experience in the struggle of the proletariat and of all the oppressed of the world for liberation. They offer a spotless banner. Workers—men and women—of all countries, place yourselves under the banner of the Fourth International. It is the banner of your approaching victory.

Leon Trotsky

CEYLON

Delegates from 175 branches from all parts of the island attended the annual conference of the All-Ceylon Samasamaja Youth League held at the Colombo Town Hall on March 4th. The assembly of 3,000 which jammed the hall and flowed out into the corridors adopted among others a resolution endorsing the Lanka Samasamaja (Ceylonese Trotskyist) call for the establishment of a Worker's and Peasant's Samasamaja Government.

A highlight of the conference was the mass demonstration put on by the youth leaguers, one of the largest and certainly most impressive ever witnessed in the capital city, Colombo. The youth leaguers, wearing red shirts and shouting slogans, marched through the working class districts of the city in a procession nearly two miles long and taking 25 minutes to pass a given point. The demonstrators finally assembled at the Gall Face Green to participate in a mammoth adult party meeting presided over by N. M. Perera.

For the occasion the party issued in pamphlet form Lenin's essay *Pacifism and the Workers* of which

1,500 copies were sold that single day.

The Ceylonese Trotskyists, who have a powerful group in parliament and who recently cut the capitalist majority on the Colombo municipal council to a slender one, continue to make broad gains. An interesting sidelight of their increasing influence is a recent action by the children of Colombo who suddenly decided to organize a procession by themselves on behalf of Lanka Samasamaja. Five and six-year-olds shouted slogans and waved red banners for the greater part of the day.

The awakening has penetrated even into the jungles. Among the Veddas (capitalist anthropologists classify them as "lower savages") socialist ideas are meeting with enthusiastic response. They are joining the Youth Leagues. The next youth conference will have to consider the contraction of a temporary camp since no permanent building in Ceylon will accommodate all the delegates.

U.S.A.

U.S. Trotskyists, organized in the Socialist Workers Party, put on a militant socialist and anti-war

offensive in two election campaigns in April, one in Oakland and the other in Los Angeles, and won an excellent response.

Myra Tanner Weiss, running for the Los Angeles Board of Education, polled 18,569 votes, almost two and a half times as many as she received when she ran for House of Representatives in 1950. Filomena M. Goelman, as candidate for Oakland Councilman-at-large, polled 6,821 votes, over 9 per cent of the total vote cast and three times as many votes as she polled in the 1949 elections.

Comrade Weiss, in 15 precincts composed largely of Mexican-American and Jewish citizens, received the highest vote cast for any of the six candidates running for the office for which she was contending. All of these precincts are located in areas in which consistent political work has been carried on for the past three years by the SWP. The voters had a wide choice of various political shadings, among the five other candidates were a "liberal" endorsed by both the AFL and CIO and a member of Americans for Democratic Action. Her vote, therefore, can be interpreted as a conscious anti-war

pro-socialist vote on the basis of her campaign.

Comrade Goelman at street corner meetings and speeches from a sound truck asked the workers of Oakland to make their vote a protest against the Korean war. While she was prevented

from speaking before local AFL unions by the bureaucrats she spoke before more than 2,500 long-shoremen who constitute the major CIO union in Northern California. Goelman's vote, which placed her third in a field of five, was almost identical to that received by the Independent Progressive Party candidate (Stalinist) running in another district and was strongest in the working class and negro areas of West Oakland.

SWITZERLAND

A conference, bringing together members of the Proletarische Aktion group, militants formerly attached to the Stalinist and Social Democratic movements, as well as workers who have had no previous political affiliations, was held at Zurich, Switzerland, on March 18. Convoled by Proletarische Aktion in order to discuss the possibilities of forming a revolutionary socialist party in that country, the conference decided to make the first step in this defection by presenting lists of candidates in four working class districts in Zurich in the cantonal election of April 15. A 15-man committee of action was set up in order to direct this election campaign.

The campaign was conducted with a great deal of energy and attracted the attention of a large section of the public. Tens of thousands of leaflets and papers were distributed and large election posters were displayed calling upon the workers to vote for the SOCIALIST WORKERS LIST, the name that the conference decided to give to its candidate list. The capitalist and social democratic press has devoted considerable attention to the campaign.

LABOR CHALLENGE

(94) Mid-June 1951

THUMBS DOWN ON RICH MAN'S WAR!

For what are Canadian youth shedding their blood in Korea? For what are war appropriations and the resultant runaway inflation increasingly burdening the Canadian people? In whose interests are we being asked to sacrifice "for a generation," in the words of Defence Minister Claxton? Who's behind war in Korea and threat of worse?

The answer has become so clear that even the capitalist press can no longer completely cover it up. The sordid interests of hog-fat profiteers are behind all the misery, the growing insecurity and want, the threat of a garrison state as a prelude to global destruction.

A Canadian Press despatch of May 13 from Ottawa reports: "Canada's defense production program this year may be big, but it may not be big enough to keep all factories humming." The Canadian Industrial Preparedness Association, a sinister gang of war-hungry industrialists and militarists, warns in its May 10 bulletin: "... so far this year, there is no indication that defense production in Canada will be of such a nature or volume that the capacity made idle will be entirely used."

What a commentary on this degenerate system of capitalism! In order to "keep the factories humming," they confess, capitalism needs war. Only war preparations and war itself can ensure profits to the capitalists. And since capitalism cannot exist without profits, war under capitalism is inevitable.

Defense Minister Claxton has admitted that arms equipment costs have been boosted to such staggering levels by the war-mad profiteers, that the government can't get "what we know we need without going on an all-out war economy." In this way the current level of the arms economy becomes a pretext for its extension and deepening to ensure the bosses still lusher, if even more bloodsoaked, profits.

Profits — that alone is behind the continuation of the Korean slaughter, the most unpopular war in history; a war in which St. Laurent involved Canadian troops against the known opposition, as revealed by the Gallup Poll, of the Canadian people. Every time a stalemate seems to have been reached in Korea, the financial pages of the capitalist press record the slump in stocks, the fear of business leaders, the sensitivity of commodity prices to "peace jitters." And the capitalist generals contrive to keep the bloody pot boiling, while hypocritically deluding the people that peace may come "any time," or not at all; that it's all really out of their hands and in those of the "aggressor," but that they are doing all they can for a settlement.

Profits, markets, and suppression of the rising tide of the struggle of the peoples for socialism—this is the driving motive of the war. The aggression of the bosses against the living standards of the home population is the necessary precondition for, and result of, their imperialist aggression against the colonial revolutions.

To support the imperialist war drive is to surrender your rights, your living standards, and the socialist future of mankind, to their insane and brutal executioners. Has the human race tolled upwards for thousands of years from savagery to industrial civilization, only to be plunged back into barbarism? Through ownership and operation of the factories and all the productive wealth of society by the producers, we can bring to fruition the tremendous achievements and struggles of past generations of which we are the heirs. We can liberate atomic energy for the welfare of the world, not its destruction. We can liberate the energies of man to serve man, not destroy him.

Let's not surrender that heritage to the doomed gang of bankers, bosses, militarists and venal politicians.

CCF LEADER SAYS CALL VOTE ON WAR

Rodney Young, former second vice-president of the B.C. section and a former M.P., suggested to the B.C. CCF provincial convention that a referendum vote be held among the general membership to determine rank and file feeling on the Korean war.

Young made the suggestion "in the hope that even now it may not be too late to persuade our national executive to abandon the present policy of armaments and war. It is my sincere and honest belief," he said, "that the ordinary Canadian looked with doubt and misgiving on the Korean adventure."

President MacNeil attacked the proposal for a referendum on a war that has cost scores of Canadian lives and millions of dollars that could be spent on homes and other social services, on the ground that the cost would "run into thousands" of dollars. A resolution presented by the Burrard Association calling for a referendum on major policy changes taken between convention by the parliamentary and national leadership never hit the floor.

06-15-4

LABOR CHALLENGE

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Mid-June, 1951

No Co-ordination Here

The leaders of the 25 CCL unions who assembled at the National Emergency Meeting went their way after recommending that all CCL affiliated and chartered unions "immediately avail themselves of every legitimate means within their power to seek very substantial wage increases."

The CCL's secretary-treasurer Pat Conroy made the usual appeal for unity of action, co-ordination of demands and struggle. An executive committee was even set up to "work on the co-ordinated campaign." But there is no sign that the top leaders have any intention of conducting a united struggle of the CCL membership for the final attainment of the 40-hour week or for wage increases to prevent their dues paying members from being swamped by the flood of inflationary wage cuts, new taxes, etc.

No national objectives have been set, no plans for the bringing together of the massive strength of the CCL membership unitedly in opposition to the profit wild monopolists have been announced.

A whole rash of spontaneous strikes have burst out. In the Toronto area alone Rubber's Goodyear local, Auto's Acme local, Steel's Grinnell local and a UE local are on the picket line. These struggles that reveal the temper of the workers, brilliant flashes denoting the mounting resistance to St. Laurent's war budget, have burst outside of the control of the leadership.

Not only has the leadership been exposed as tailing far behind the temper and desires of the union ranks by these militant outbursts, but it has revealed itself to be in opposition to them.

George Burt, Canadian director of the UAW and a member of the co-ordinating campaign committee, Burt who has made the most withering exposures of the government's conciliation boards, appealed to the 1,500 Acme Screw and Gear strikers to return to work and submit their demands to conciliation. Speaking for the Ontario Department of Labor he promised a report would be handed down within two weeks of the return to work. He was shouted down—not one voice came from the floor in support of his plea.

Commencing with the promise of an easy victory these strikes are now stretching out. The bosses are starting to form a solid front against what they know to be only the beginning of a massive conflict.

The demand for a National Emergency Conference of Labor to rally the fighting strength of Canada's million strong organized labor movement is the crying need of the moment. Not a conference of top level bureaucrats but a rank and file conference of local delegates to hammer out a program, to line up labor's forces to strike out in unity in labor's interests.

Balance Sheet of the Left

The B.C. CCF convention and its results show two things: the highly developed political maturity of the Left, on the one hand; and, on the other, its failure to build a firm leadership to consolidate that political maturity on an organizational basis.

The resolutions of the Left presented to the convention by numerous clubs, (see article on page 1), reveal socialist consciousness at its clearest. These resolutions are the crystallization of years of thought and discussion on the part of the Left—against the violent opposition of the Right—on the most urgent issues confronting, not only the Canadian people, but the future of man.

The Left went to the convention with tremendous political capital. Who can say they have not proved right on the most burning issue today—Korea, which is World War III in embryo? In the same way, Coldwell and his resolution of support of the imperialist intervention presented to and passed by the last National Convention, have been proved wrong—devastatingly wrong—by life itself.

The fundamental character of the war has been thoroughly exposed. So corrupt is the Rhee government that it has no support but from UN bayonets and the landlord class. His own parliament voted non-confidence in him months back on the grounds that his "cabinet was responsible for the war," and now threatens to impeach him as a dictator. "We will take away the land given to the tenants and return it to the landlords," said Rhee as the UN armies advanced. Coldwell marched with these black forces of counter-revolution, talking the while of "democracy."

But, correct as the Left has been proved politically, it was split asunder under the first serious blows of the national and provincial leaderships. Part of it immediately retired into silence, sick, disillusioned, unable to gird itself to a real struggle under the conditions imposed upon it by the Right. Another part of it has retired to the cloisters of the decrepit remnants of the sectarian Socialist Party of Canada to intensify the diffusion of its intellectual vaporizing. What leadership the Left had at the convention were riddled with opportunistic tendencies and proved to be little more than radical phrasemongers.

But the future is bright for the Left. Their policies are in alliance with the great progressive forces of history. Their forces, conjoined with the mass of workers that will flood into the CCF in the next upsurge, will provide the leadership which is so desperately needed in the next period ahead.

To Our Readers

The moving of our files, desks, addressograph, and all that goes with the publication of a paper, to a new address forced us to skip the publication of what would have been the Mid-May issue of Labor Challenge.

All subscriptions will be extended an extra month to make up for the missing issue.

Our new address is 62½ Elm Street. For the information of our Toronto readers and any friends who may come to Toronto, Labor Challenge editorial rooms are now situated just two streets north off Bay Street from the Bay-Dundas intersection. Drop in and see us.

06-15-5

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

Labor Challenge

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TORONTO, AUGUST, 1951

Price: 5 cents

BRING THE PATS HOME NOW— IS THE WAY TO PEACE IN KOREA

DON'T WORRY DEAR —
THERE ARE LOTS
OF OTHER PLACES!



Troops Want To Quit Korea Now

By ROSS DOWSON

"A jubilant 'Yippee'" was the way the men of the 25th Canadian Brigade in Korea "greeted the news of Jakob Malik's peace proposal," according to Reuter's correspondent Ross Mark. When a captain announced that a peace proposal had been put forward "on the condition we get out of North Korea, one man shouted 'Well, let's get out of North Korea.' The rest of his sentence was lost in a storm of cheering."

But that wasn't the attitude of the ruling capitalist circles. Their real attitude to the possibility of cessation of hostilities in Korea has been expressed by the jittery reaction of the stock markets.

Just from glancing at the heads in the financial pages, the prospects of a truce, even a temporary one, was obviously gruesome news for them. "Peace Overtures Drop 'Peg Grains to Seasonal Lows.'" "Truce Proposal Drops New York to Low for Year." . . . read two among many heads.

One year of Korea has proved to be the most profitable year for

→ top. 2

08-01-1a

LABOR CHALLENGE

(95) August 1951

Page 2

Canadian monopolists. As matters now stand Korea is their biggest single "going" enterprise.

No wonder the Canadian capitalists, in alliance with their big American brothers, are now trying hard to engender an atmosphere that would permit their backing out of the Korean peace talks. No wonder they are stalling on acceptance of the very terms that Acheson told recent Senate hearings were the conditions of the U.S. for a cease fire agreement. No wonder they are stalling on the withdrawal of troops from Korea.

They are stalling in the face of the known and expressed will of the Canadian people. They know that the Canadian people want the Korean war to come to an end, a war over which they have had no say either in its first decisions nor its continuing decisions, a war which has cost them higher taxes and higher prices, which has risked the lives of many and cost the lives of scores of their sons and brothers.

As for those most immediately involved, they want to get out, and not just out of North Korea. According to Canadian Press correspondent William Boss, the Canadian forces want to get out of all of Korea.

In a dispatch dated July 18, referring to the 2nd Battalion Princess Pats, which with the 2nd Battalion of the RCR's is the only Canadian force that has gone into action, he states that it "to a man already has had quite enough of Korea." Commenting further, on the anxiety and uncertainty that Canadian soldiers feel about their future, he says, "A consensus is that most troops would serve almost anywhere (except Korea!)..."

According to CP's Douglas How, at least 50 per cent of the specially recruited Korean force, few of whom have seen action, have informed Ottawa that they want to quit the army upon the expiration of their 18-month term. And no wonder! Canada's role may be a fine one in the eyes of the army brass and Bay Street's political flunkies in Ottawa, but not in the eyes of Canadian working men, in and out of uniform, and their families.

The war in Korea in which Canadian troops have been participating is of such a character that the entire Korean peoples are bitter and full of hate for their "liberators." UN "liberation" has turned their country into a vast cemetery. According to R. P. Martin of the N.Y. Daily Compass:

"If a Gallup poll could be taken in both South and North Korea, more than likely the great majority of the people living in that unhappy land would vote for peace at almost any price. The poll result would probably be the same even if they were certain, as many are, that once the United Nations armies are withdrawn the Communists would come to power,

(Continued on page 2)

Bring Pats Out of Korea

(Continued from page 1)

either through revolution or aggression."

Even now Canadian troops are being used to make great numbers of D.K.'s. The D.K. is likened, by correspondent William Boss, to the D.P., the raw flesh that symbolized Hitler's barbarism. "Canadians have produced about 12,000 of his number... he is a displaced Korean... No one knows what is to become of him... stripped from his home, his land and often from his family... He is a displaced Korean, uprooted by the UN and transplanted from North to South Korea, where he had no wish to go."

They are the product of what the top brass calls "aggressive patrolling." "Marched back to the UN lines, the pathetic groups are finally sardined into trucks—80 to 35 to a vehicle—with no concern for family units," to be trucked down the road, given three days supply of rice and then told to walk to the next relief station—or to nowhere.

This atrocity against the colonial peoples is being committed at the very moment that the UN-fronted Western Powers are supposedly conducting negotiations for peace. The real intentions of the Washington-led imperialist interlopers is to try to keep a toehold on the Korean peninsula, hoping thereby, under more favorable conditions, to launch another assault against the Korean and Asiatic peoples. They are completely ignoring the cry of the people and the troops to pull out of Korea.

But there cannot be any serious talk of peace in Korea with Canadian and other foreign troops encamped there. The duty of the Canadian people is to intervene in the situation, to give the most concrete expression possible to their genuine sentiments about the Korean war; to demand an immediate finish to this horrible atrocity. The first real step to that end is to demand that all Canadian troops be withdrawn so that the Asiatic peoples can settle their own affairs. Let's get Canadian troops out of Korea!

08-01-1b

UNION PAC's MOVE TO BACK UP THE CCF

Officers and stewards of some 200 Toronto area CCL-CIO unions will attend a political action conference to be held in Toronto early this September. The decision to call such a rank and file conference came out of the July 11th

meeting of 50 staff organizers of the CCL-CIO unions in the Toronto area and is part of a stepped-up program of political action behind the CCF.

Only a few weeks previously the Ontario Federation of Labor convention, representing all the major unions in the Ontario CCL, discussed political action in support of the CCF. Highlight of this convention was the announcement by George Burt, Canadian director of the United Auto Workers and president of the OFL, that his union identified itself 100 per cent with the new political action drive aimed at the next provincial election which will probably take place early in 1952. Up until then the Burt leadership of the UAW, in collaboration with the Stalinists, has kept the UAW in the blind alley of boss party politics which has led to the support of racke-

teer Mayor Reaume's machine and Liberal Party demagogue Minister of Health Paul Martin in the autoworkers' stronghold of Windsor.

Burt said that his union is fed up with the Conservative government's labor policies, its labor legislation favors employers and the new Fair Employment Practices Act and the Equal Pay for Women Bill are just so much window dressing. The UAW representatives made it clear, too, that they, as well as other CCL unions, resented the brush-off they got from the federal government when they presented their joint brief with the TLC.

Following the OFL convention the UAW announced the appointment of a full-time political action director in Arthur Shultz, a member of the CCF Ontario Provincial Council. At the same time the Canadian Congress of Labor announced the appointment of Howard Conquergood, Steelworkers' leader and president of the North York CCF, as its educational director.

The CCL's political action set-up has been reorganized whereby the dollar a year collected from union members is to be divided equally between local and provincial PAC's, with the national PAC carrying on in the next period purely on an administrative basis. This change was made on the basis that there are to be several important provincial elections before the next federal election upon which the PAC's will be concentrating.

The Ontario PAC in the last few months has arranged week-end training courses in political action which have been attended by more than 300 local union officers and stewards in Toronto, Kitchener-Waterloo, Galt, Guelph, Preston, Hespeler and London.

At Niagara Falls on June 28 the first joint committee of local union PAC's and CCF constituency associations was set up. This provisional committee, composed of two CCF members from the Welland, Niagara Falls and Lincoln CCF riding associations and two CCL-CIO union members from each of the above areas has been set up as an experiment for local level cooperation. The CCF delegates must be approved by their local riding associations and the CCL delegates by the Niagara Peninsula Labor Council which represents CCL-CIO unions in the three counties. On the basis of the experience gained from the workings of this committee, plans are being made to set up similar PAC-Constituency association committees all across the province.

WORKERS OF THE

LABOR

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TORONTO,

AUGUST, 1951

08-01-2

A Fighting Program To Meet the Rising Cost of Living

1) *Wage increases to cancel out cuts that have been made in real wages by inflationary prices rises.*

2) *A sliding scale of wages, or escalator clause, in every union contract to defend established base rates by providing automatic wage increases for every rise in the cost of living.*

3) *Independent action on prices. For the organization of mass consumers' committees of housewives, unionists, small shopkeepers, which in collaboration with the farmers will investigate price spreads, probe into warehouses, root out goods stored for speculation, open the books of the monopolists and reveal their business secrets.*

LABOR CHALLENGE

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THE GALE DECISION LABOR AND THE LAW

The infamous decision of Justice Gale involves more than the question of appeals against decisions of the Ontario Labour Relations Board. The Gale decision sharply raises the whole question of the legalistic approach to the problems of the trade unions.

We have no disagreement with the position taken by the labor movement that the Gale decision must be quashed. The resolution adopted at the AFL conference suggesting that, under the circumstances, the unions should by-pass the Ontario Labour Relations Act is a sound one.

But the workers of Ontario must not be led to believe that everything will be fine if the Gale decision is repealed and a law passed assuring the irrevocability of decisions made by the Labour Relations Board.

It is quite a propos to recall that in the Province of Quebec a law has been recently adopted which makes it impossible to appeal decisions of the Quebec Labour Relations Board. The attitude of the Quebec trade union movement stands in sharp contrast with the position of the labor movement in Ontario on the question of such appeals. The whole movement in Quebec—CIO-CCL, AFL-TLC and Catholic Syndicates—denounced the Duplessis law as one designed to maintain the anti-labor decisions of the Quebec Labour Relations Board. Duplessis was prompted to adopt such a law because a Justice of the Superior Court had repealed a decision of the Quebec Board which had decertified the Alliance of Catholic School Teachers in Montreal.

To center the struggle against the Gale decision merely around the question of appeals against decisions of the Ontario Labour Board

(Continued on page 4)

Labor and the Law

(Continued from page 1)

is wrong. It is like saying that the Ontario Labour Relations Board is above reproach — that it cannot or will not, for instance, decertify a union. Ridiculous! The job of the Ontario Board is the same as that of the Quebec Labour Relations Board or any similar board created by the old parties' governments: it is to administer a law which is fundamentally anti-labor in character.

To make the question of appeals the one and only issue is to follow a legalistic position which can only generate the most dangerous of illusions. One of the innumerable crimes of the labor bureaucracy has been to propagate the legalistic approach to trade union problems. Instead of relying on the power of the rank and file, the labor bureaucracy has tried to seek refuge in the field of legality. They want to fight the bosses with laws. Well, the capitalist state is quite capable in that field. The bureaucrats want laws; they have plenty of them! They were caught at their own game when, for example, the bosses decided to decertify the Canadian Seamen's Union. They just said the word and the labor bureaucrats, the craven Mosher-Bengough leadership, went down the line. The Gale decision itself is a fruit of the legalistic approach.

We recognize the fight of the trade unions for democratic rights. We recognize the gains that have been achieved. But we fail to see that such gains were granted on the basis of a well presented case from a legalistic viewpoint. It is the might of the organized and united tens of thousands of Canadian workers that has secured the gains. They have been a victory of the masses, not the product of a legalistic approach. The rights that labor has, were imposed in fact, and that is why they were confirmed by legislation. But even the right to organize, the recognition of the unions, even this right has not yet been totally recognized. The

08-01-3

unconditional right to strike has been taken away. And it is not a law which will re-institute it. It will be imposed, re-established, by the militancy of hundreds of thousands in mass action.

The task of the working class in this fight against the Gale decision, in the case of Hollinger Bus Line Co., etc., is to see to it that the legalistic approach is not substituted for the organized strength of the ranks, for the collective militancy that the mass movement can display. The decision made at the AFL conference must become a living reality. By-pass the Labor Relations Act! By-pass the Labor Boards! It must from now on be the slogan of the ranks. This is no time to start splitting hairs, for discussions on the differences between the Boards and the Courts. They are the same, notwithstanding the presence of labor representatives on such boards. The fight is one against the whole set up, against the Act, the Board and the Government.

There Is NO Peace

What hope is there for a permanent and stable peace coming out of the Kaesong discussions and a Korean settlement?

The people of the world can place no trust and confidence in either of the main protagonists in the current "peace" negotiations, in either Washington or the Kremlin.

It is no mystery why the Western Powers are obliged to play along with a possible deal in connection with Korea. The Korean war is vastly unpopular, it has proven incredibly costly, it is indeed, as the U.S. General Bradley put it, a "wrong" war on all counts; against the "wrong" enemy, in the "wrong" place, and at the "wrong" time.

After one year of costly combat the UN forces, despite superior equipment have proven too weak to score a decisive victory. The decisive military and political circles are neither willing to commit such forces as would be necessary, nor are they certain of the outcome if this were done. A settlement that would leave Korea as a stalemate, enable the imperialists to retain Formosa and shunt revolutionary China aside would be to the advantage of Washington, untying its hands for its main strategic war plan — a showdown with the Kremlin on the European continent.

For while imperialism may choose between wars it cannot do without wars. Capitalism needs war production, and war itself just to keep going.

As for the Kremlin, (the nationalized economy upon which it battens does not require war to fructify it) it has once again demonstrated how eager it is for a deal, no matter how temporary, with imperialism. It would not hesitate for a moment to sacrifice the needs of the Korean people. It did so in the original partition of Korea; it continued to do so in the initial stages of the Korean conflict by refusing more than a trickle of supplies to the Koreans.

China's role in the situation still remains unclear. But there would be nothing at all surprising in the Kremlin's trying to run roughshod over Peiping's interests. Stalin is as fearful of a strong revolutionary China as Washington is.

How pliant Peiping will be will be determined by other forces than Stalin or even the Mao regime. The colonial masses are on the march everywhere. They are struggling to rid themselves of foreign oppressors and exploiters. They will make no peace with imperialism. If their leaders betray them they will drop these leaders and get others.

There is no hope of peace coming from the Kaesong talks, at most there can only come an uneasy truce.

The hope of peace in this world lies not in the profit-driven, market-mad imperialists, nor in the bureaucratic caste that has imposed itself upon the Soviet peoples. It lies in the freedom struggles of the colonial masses and the linking up of these struggles with victorious socialist struggles of the European and American working people.

There is none and there never can be any peace under capitalism. Only socialism, only a new system in which the means of production are owned and operated by the peoples, will do away with the cause of war and so with war itself. The sole guarantee against the Third World War, of which the Korean War is only a phase, is the struggle for the socialist revolution.

HOUSING - THE NO. 1 SCANDAL NOTHING LESS THAN \$10,000

By PAUL KANE

There is plenty of building going on—more than ever before. Construction contracts for the first six months of this year topped a billion dollars, more than double that for the same period last year.

But all this steel, concrete and lumber isn't going into housing. On the contrary, the value of house building, including such palatial mansions as that made ready for Prime Minister St. Laurent and little four-room bungalows such as dot areas like North York, declined in the month of June to a mere trickle of 50 million while construction as a whole soared to a third of a billion dollars.

This miserable trickle for housing isn't due to the fact that the need for housing, any kind of housing, has eased off. There is more housing needed than ever before. There are thousands upon thousands of desperate families. Take this one of many in Vancouver—a family of 10 living in two rooms for the past six years, sharing a bathroom with five other families, drying their laundry in their living room. Consider this family of seven in Erinville, Ontario, evicted from the two rooms they have rented for six years, the father searching anxiously for a new home, only five hours sleep one week, unsuccessful,

because "When I tell people I have five children they turn me down." Remember the 1,000 families in Toronto's Emergency Housing projects, six years after the emergency: some living in the bleak battered collection of former explosive buildings called GECO which the township solicitor told the Ontario Municipal Board: "It is unbelievable that conditions found at GECO should exist in Canada"; others living at the many times condemned Stanley Barracks which the city fathers had the delicacy to hide from the gaze of International Trade Fair visitors with a high and wide canvas screen.

The courts are jammed with cases of landlords ruthlessly taking advantage of the desperate plight of tenants; landlords such as the one in Winnipeg who demanded, for a three-room, \$80-a-month apartment, a three-year lease, three months rent in advance and had the gall to demand a prospective tenant sign a questionnaire asking nationality, whether he was prepared to live and entertain in moderation, and to state whether his plans included having children in the next three years.

Over 30,000 housing units are needed now, desperately, in Vancouver alone. Ontario needs 60,000 new homes each year to keep up with current expansion. The Montreal Labor Research Bureau estimates that there is a backlog demand, an accumulated shortage since the war, of 740,500 new houses. This accumulated shortage has been building up at an increasing tempo—today it is soaring sky high.

In 1947 residential housing got only 34.3 per cent of total construction expenditure, in 1950 about 30 per cent, in 1951—the bottom has fallen out to make Canada's Number 1 scandal—housing.

Building permits issued in the first five months of this year in Vancouver are down 44 per cent from 1950. In May they dropped from 590 last year to 161 this year. This is the picture across the country—house construction is no more.

What is behind this housing scandal? According to George Prudham, parliamentary assistant to Resources Minister Winters, it is all the fault of the building trades workers, of their higher wages and shorter hours. "A return to the 44-hour week would be the most constructive effort in the industry to alleviate the shortage," he told a Toronto audience of builders last fall.

But there is not one shred of truth in Prudham's claim. The crisis in housing is the fruit of unbridled profiteering by the construction industry moguls and the real estate interests, aided and abetted by Ottawa.

There is big profit in high priced homes, in high-rental apartments but even bigger profit in commercial building, so every builder, contractor and building supplier, has directed his capital into this field, and not houses. It is they, in fact, who have laid the basis for the rent gouging of the landlords.

In 1948 according to the government's 1950 edition of Taxation

Statistics, the profits of the construction industry were higher than any other industry in relation both to dollar sales and to capital invested. That year 1,140 companies made 37.17 per cent profit on their total invested capital.

Their profits haven't soared merely because they have done more business, made more sales, in fact their profit ratio to sales more than doubled from the close of the war to 1948. In 1945 they were raking in as pure profit 11.19 cents out of every sales dollar—by 1948 they were taking in 23.92 cents (the retail trade was fattening on a mere 5.54 cents on dollar sales). And since the lush days of 1948 the lumber trusts, the electrical and plumbing manufacturers, the cement monopolists, have gone profiteering mad. Construction workers real wages in the period between April 1946 and July 1950 dropped 31 cents a week.

In its quarterly report of this month the Crown agency administering Federal Housing Legislation, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, stated that "not since

September 1947 have costs (house building) risen as rapidly as in the past year." The report notes that the price of lumber and wood products increased 35 per cent for the 12-month period, the index reaching, by April 1951, the 409 mark—double the level in 1945.

The profit gouging of the construction industry and the real estate and mortgage interests has priced all but a small handful of the population out of the home-owning brackets. Altogether over one-third of the population are renters—in their majority they just cannot afford to own a home. According to the 1949 issue of Economics and Political Science 20.7 per cent of the population could not afford to buy any house of any kind, 12.7 could not afford to own a house costing more than 3,000 or 4,000 dollars. Another 20 per cent could not afford a home costing more than 4,000 to 5,000 dollars and 42.1 could not afford one costing more than 5,000 to 6,000 dollars. In other words 65.5 per cent of the Canadian population couldn't in 1949, afford a house costing more than 5,000 to 6,000 dollars.

But the cheapest new home under the National Housing Act, a government subsidized scheme, cost in the year 1950, \$8,600. Now, according to the conservative officials of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, houses in the \$10,000 and under price range are no longer available in some communities. A Toronto executive in several large housing projects confirmed this with the comment, "You can't build a proper home in Toronto under \$10,000 and it will be some time before you can. The same applies to Hamilton."

Prime Minister St. Laurent has kept his word of a few years back that no government of which he was a member would ever subsidize housing—the only way that well over 65.5 per cent of the population could even hope to have a home of their own today.

St. Laurent and his government have, instead, been working overtime subsidizing the building trusts, the mortgage and loan interests and the land sharks.

The much touted National Housing Act has only gone to guarantee the profits of the builders and building supply corporations. At most it has helped to supply homes only to that part of the upper third of the population that wanted them. Its rental insurance plan has approved of only 14,019 units since July 1948—units beyond the financial capacity of most workers—the average rental for those built in 1950 is \$70 a month for four rooms. Its slum clearance scheme, according to the CMHC 1950 report, approved of only one project—the Regent Park project in Toronto which at the end of 1950 provided only 118 units.

When the lending and mortgage interests froze out housing loans under the government's CMHA which supplied one quarter of the 3 per cent interest (the approved financial institutions supplied the other three quarters, guaranteed by the government, at 5 per cent interest) the government answered their request. It did not take over the entire loan and by-pass these leeches but met their demands by bringing the interest on the CMHA portion into line with the rest of the mortgage money.

This spring the government granted another favor to the mortgage interests, and incidentally to the landlords at the expense of would-be home owners, by reducing the amount of the mortgage loans granted under the National Housing Act. It dropped the additional one-sixth second mortgage loan. This meant that an additional down payment of \$1,000 on a four-room house had to be scrounged together by a would-be small home owner.

Now, after completely emasculating the National Housing Act, after swilling the trough so that the building interests can gorge themselves with profits, the government has called quits to what few projects it had underway.

As far as the St. Laurent government is concerned everything is fine. Housing is not a scandal at all. The interests it represents are making a killing as never before. But for the great majority of the population there is a crying need for low interest loans, and for government subsidized low rent housing.

The money is there. Not to mention the millions that have been tossed away in the Korean adventure, the government has budgetary surpluses, piled up through the oppressive tax burden that it has thrust on the people, the like of which it never had before.

It has been estimated that to take up the backlog shortage of homes and keep up with current expansion would take an annual investment of 1.2 billion, considerably less than the amount budgeted to spend on the building of instruments of destruction and the militarization of our youth. A direct subsidy of 55 million each year would bridge the gap between present family incomes and production costs, a mere 1½ per cent of the 1951-52 federal budget.

The money is there. The people should see to it that it is used in their interests.

08-01-4

RWP Holds Inspiring Convention

The second national convention of the Revolutionary Workers Party was held in Toronto last week. It was the most representative gathering of Trotskyism yet held in this country with an excellent delegation coming in from the West and sizable delegations from the key industrial areas in the East.

The convention adopted a political resolution which had been drawn up for its consideration by the outgoing National Committee. Presented to the convention by Barry Brent it was subject to extensive criticism and added clarification particularly those sections dealing with the tasks and perspectives of the RWP. After a day and a half debate, participated in by nearly all the delegates and in the process of which a counter resolution was withdrawn, the political resolution, testifying to the unity of the party, was unanimously adopted.

The organization report presented by Ross Dowson was amplified and extended by various delegates who were anxious to exchange the fruits of the past five years of pioneering revolutionary socialist thought in this country. Summing up these experiences the outgoing national committee presented a series of proposals designed to more effectively project the forces of the RWP forward in their task to win the vanguard. Some of the most important of these proposals, enthusiastically acclaimed by the convention, were the projects for increasing the circulation of **LABOR CHALLENGE** and other Trotskyist literature.

A highlight of the convention was a speech on French Canada by a leading member of the party. The speech and the contributory discussion marked a long step forward in the forces of authentic Marxism coming to grips with the question of French Canada. Although the whole question still remains in the discussion stage the convention requested that the speech be recorded and mimeographed for circulation preparatory to the party adopting a formal resolution at a future convention.

Following the election of officers the convention sent greetings to all the parties of the Fourth International through the International Secretariat. It sent special greetings to Natalia Trotsky expressing the hope that she will find her way back into the ranks of the Fourth International and special greetings to the party of the American Trotskyists, the Socialist Workers Party, which has played such an instrumental role in the development of Canadian Trotskyism.

TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING

Speaker - Ross Dowson

Monday, August 20th at 8 p.m.

62½ ELM STREET - TORONTO

08-01-5

LABOR CHALLENGE

(95) Aug. 1951

08-01-6

**National Tour Sparks
Challenge Sub Drive**

A campaign to increase the circulation and influence of Labor Challenge is going to be given a big boost by the national tour that two top Labor Challenge supporters set out on this week.

**Dowson**

Murray Dowson, former editor of Labor Challenge and frequent contributor to its pages, and Barry Brent, also well known to readers of Labor Challenge and its top sub-getter in past subscription drives, are on their way on a tour across the country.

Dowson and Brent will not only address meetings at key points from here to the West Coast, meet present readers and supporters of the paper and discuss important problems confronting the workers of this country in their struggle for a socialist world. They are going to aid Labor Challenge supporters in various cities and towns in their local campaigns, exchange experiences with them picked up in the process of the tour, etc., and generally spark the whole drive.

Comrade Dowson, in an appeal to all readers of the paper, urged everyone to get solidly behind this campaign.

"We have in Labor Challenge the finest paper in Canada. Let's go out and sell it."

"In these days of threatening atomic war, skyrocketing prices and oppressive taxes the working people need Labor Challenge more than ever. For its program gives the answer to all these problems."

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In its pages you find the key events in the international and national arena clarified by revolutionary Marxist analysis. Labor Challenge gives extensive coverage to events in the CCF. It follows closely the tortuous twists and turns of world Stalinism and the Labor Progressive Party, exposing its counter-revolutionary role. Labor Challenge was the first to call for a sliding scale of wages in Canada.

"While others have wilted under the pressure of capitalist reaction in its drive to war, Labor Challenge has held aloft the banner of socialism. We must all pitch in and really advance our banner through this sub drive, selling the paper in the shops, at workers' meetings, in the workers' districts."

Comrade Brent issued a challenge just before pulling away on the tour; he is out for the honour of being top sub-getter in this drive and will take on all comers.

The campaign, which is commencing August 1st and closing September 15th, will be scored by a point system. One point will go to the credit of a sub-getter for each copy of the paper sold, either on an individual copy basis or subscription basis. The top point scorer will be awarded an excellent prize.

The Toronto branch of the Revolutionary Workers Party has already signified its intention to total up at least 1,000 points. We are expecting word from other branches and good friends of the paper about their plans and objectives. They will be published in this column in the next issue.

The staff would like to take up Brent's challenge. You can give it a hand by sending in your sub and subs for friends, now, via the mail.

The cost is only 50 cents. Send it in to Labor Challenge, 62½ Elm Street, Toronto 2, Ont.

The return is 12 issues of a paper that is dedicated through the struggle for a new socialist world, to eliminate the scourge of wars and depressions.

**Brent****The Worker's Forum**

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of Labor Challenge. Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them as short as possible and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name published.

**Editor:**

Your correspondent on the B.C. CCF convention is certainly in error re the Left Wing's failure to take a firm stand. To say that we were unanimous is far from the truth. I sat in, all through the convention and spoke but I was ruled out of order, as a delegate from Stanley Park Club (the rebels in the CCF). Several others spoke very strongly against the Right but were outvoted, but I, like a number of others who have been in the Socialist Party for over 40 years am still staying in the CCF. We did not leave the ship as some of the others. Those who know me know that I am very outspoken in my views.

I hope your B.C. correspondent will, in future, hew closer to the

line when reporting CCF news so as to keep unity within the CCF.

Frank Ricketts,
Vancouver, B.C.

Labor Challenge's correspondent had no intention of giving the impression that the Left failed to voice opposition to the McNeill leadership. What he did state was that when the hour of decision arrived the Left buckled under the bureaucratic hammer of the Right. This was so on the dissolution of the CCYM, the organizational resolution condoning the Fellowship ban, and the pro-UN foreign policy resolution: the latter two, he said, passed unanimously — in other words with the support of the Left. His report is confirmed by all other reports that have come to our attention and is, in fact, not challenged by Comrade Ricketts.

The unity of labor that Labor Challenge is interested in is its unity as a class in irreconcilable opposition to the capitalist class, its parties and its politics. This requires a principled stand in opposition to the Coldwell leadership, for the capitalist politics it brings into the CCF.—Editor.

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**LABOR CHALLENGE
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Why Teen-Agers Take Dope

Blaring newspaper headlines tell of dope parties at Ontario vacation spot, Crystal Beach. Youthful dope salesmen are picked up in Vancouver and Toronto. According to H. J. Anslinger, U.S. Commissioner of Narcotics, a wave of narcotic addiction among youth has swept through such U.S. cities as Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco, New Orleans and Baltimore. Between five and ten thousand teenage youth are in the grip of the "white death"—dope addiction—in New York City.

Nobody knows how many tens of thousands of American youth have already been destroyed by the opium, morphine and heroin habit.

THE REAL CRIMINAL

Who is to blame for this horrible epidemic? It is not the peddlers alone; it is not merely the lack of effective anti-narcotics police; it is not only the absence of hospital facilities for treatment of the tragic victims.

The decayed social system is the real criminal.

Professor Austin McCormick of the University of California, stated recently that the mounting juvenile addiction rates were a sign of "social disintegration — failure to keep up with the problems of urban life." Youth, he stated, found itself unable to develop ethical concepts in an atmosphere of poverty, alcoholism and racial

prejudice, and sought escape in narcotics.

Prof. McCormick omitted one of the greatest pressures upon the youth — militarism and war.

U.S. Congressman Howard H. Buffett, of Nebraska, stated May 2, "In America a young man at 18 loses his freedom. His life is at the disposal of the Government in Washington. Aside from forced military service overseas, our borders become a prison wall. He cannot leave this country as a permanent emigrant—to seek his freedom elsewhere."

CAPITALIST FUTURE

All that capitalism holds in store for the youth is war, poverty, dictatorship, atomic destruction; the adolescent who confronts his future sees only a blind alley.

The government, from the capital down to the local cop on the beat appears to the youth as an enemy — and he isn't wrong.

The schools seem institutions for the spreading of hypocrisy: they teach about freedom, peace and democracy, but the world around them holds none of these ideals.

The business world to which the youth in the heyday of capitalism would normally aspire, offers little opportunity except to the sons of the rich; the scramble for profits, the cynical selfishness of the big corporations, revolts the teen-ager who enters adulthood hoping to

live a decent, useful and meaningful life.

He has no chance to plan his future; he is already part of the arsenal of World War III, an instrument of the warlords, waiting to be picked up and tossed into the jaws of hell. Is it any wonder that the youth look for escape?

A TRAGIC SYMBOL

Is it any wonder that the following description of teen-age addicts, reported in the June *Woman's Home Companion*, is typical of tens of thousands of youth? "... they were fine-looking clean-cut youngsters — until you looked at their arms. The tender skin below the elbow was scored with ugly dark purple streaks which followed the course of veins toward the wrist. These were the streaks of burned-out veins into which they had jabbed the needle so many times that the vascular walls themselves had collapsed and the veins had dried up. Some had kept frantically jabbing deeper, deeper, looking for new veins until they had made streaks all the way across the backs of their hands and down to the knuckles."

The dried-up veins of these youth — that is the symbol of capitalist society!

Only it is more than a symbol. It is horribly real. It is the greatest price the people are paying for the continued domination of the outlived system of degenerated capitalism.

SASK. CCF RALLY OPENS VISTAS

**Demands Repeal of Garson Amendments
For China Recognition, Raps Korean War**

The major policy resolutions adopted by the Saskatchewan CCF convention last month sound an inspiring rallying call to the entire CCF rank and file and the Canadian working people as a whole in the fight against the atomic slaughter that is in preparation.

That the resolutions were acclaimed by an assemblage of 523 registered delegates, when the Saskatchewan section is confronted with an election battle and opportunist elements would tend to be most influential, that they were passed when it has just completed a series of grass roots constituency conventions "the most successful in the history of the CCF organization," when a membership campaign topped the 10,000 mark in the first month and the provincial president can express complete confidence that a goal of 30,000, a greater number than had even been enrolled before, would be easily reached—all this tells us that these resolutions express to a high and accurate degree the growing fears, the hopes and aspirations of the Canadian people.

Even more, they tell us that an increasing number of Canadian workers, the CCF rank and file, are prepared to fight Bay and St. James Street's war drive, and in the case of the latter, against the treacherous and opportunist policies of the right wing Coldwell leadership of the CCF itself, which has been promoting St. Laurent's policies within the CCF.

At the opening session of the Saskatchewan legislature this spring, Premier Douglas challenged the capitalist parties that he was prepared to fight the coming election on the basis of his speech called *Bread or Bombs*. His speech said in part: "I don't want to see the young men of this country fight a war merely to re-impose Chiang Kai-shek on the Chinese people or to protect the holdings of the Standard Oil company. . . . I believe that the people of Saskatchewan want peace if it is possible; that the people of Saskatchewan do not want to send men out to die on foreign fields in order to bolster up discredited regimes. . . . We cannot allow the desire to stop aggression to act as a cloak to force Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek or other sawdust caesars on people who don't want them. . . ."

The convention endorsed this speech and further concretized it in other resolutions. The growing opposition to involvement in the crushing of the colonial freedom struggles, the growing awareness that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is an alliance for war, the growing resistance to increased taxation, and the alarm at the moves towards the imposition of a police state on this country, all found expression in the Saskatchewan resolutions.

Repeal Garson Amendments

The convention took a forthright and unequivocal stand in opposition to the Garson amendments to the Criminal Code, demanding their immediate repeal (see box). It demanded that the Federal government eliminate the 20 per cent surcharge on the income of married people making under \$3,000 and replace the burdensome Sales Tax with an Excess Profits Tax.

It called for immediate recognition of "the peoples Government of China and the admission of this Government's representatives into the United Nations." It went on record as favoring "the termination of all interference by foreign powers in Formosa . . ." It took a stand of "foursquare" opposition to the re-armament of Germany and Japan by the Western Powers bloc, its policies "which encourage, and/or permit the regrowth of Fascism in Germany and Japan" and the separate peace treaty with Japan "which would worsen the already bad conditions existent between east and west."

The resolution endorsing Premier Douglas' speech *Bread or Bombs*, commending in particular that section "stressing that the danger of war should not be made an excuse for postponing social security measures," contained a Whereas that stated "the diversion of labor and wealth from the manufacture of consumer goods to the manufacture of war machines and destructive weapons constitutes waste of energy."

The resolution demanding China-recognition contains a Whereas "It will be fatal to the CCF in Canada to extend support to the militaristic expansionist, fear-rousing policies of a number of western powers; policies which have already resulted in the spread of Communism in Asia; and which have succeeded only in earning the enmity and ill-will of almost the entire peoples of Asia." The resolution on the UN contains a Whereas which reads "continued rearmament both east and west can only logically lead to war and not intelligent negotiation."

Summing up the whole tenor of the speeches and discussion was the resolution which put the convention in opposition to "any change or amendment to the Regina Manifesto which might weaken it as a Canadian charter of democratic socialism. . . ."

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WORKERS OF THE Labor

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St. Laurent's Balanced Economy



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LABOR CHALLENGE

(96) September 1951

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T. C. DOUGLAS

to war. The national leadership has opposed the recognition of China "under duress"—it supports the concept that China is the aggressor and what is at issue is defeat of aggression, thereby supporting what Douglas has voiced opposition to—"bolstering up discredited regimes, forcing Syngman Rhee and other sawdust caesars on people who don't want them."

The Coldwell leadership has supported the government's entire militarization program. The CCF M.P.'s didn't oppose the Garson amendments. Nor did they oppose the Emergency Powers Act or any other of the many moves by the St. Laurent government to clamp a police regime on the Canadian people. They don't talk about the "waste of energy" in war production; on the contrary Coldwell has gone along with Claxton's "work harder and produce more" campaign and has made a few speeches along this line himself.

Although elected to the house by a Saskatchewan riding, Coldwell did not attend the convention. The national president of the CCF, Percy Wright, M.P., did attend as did national adviser to the CCYM, Roy Knight, M.P.

Wright, who gained notoriety as the only CCF M.P. who voted for the government's compulsory arbitration bill that broke last year's railway strike, intervened in the convention to second an amendment to the resolution on the United Nations. With the usual demagogic preamble that the UN should enlarge its program of assisting backward nations, the amendment completely whitewashed the UN by urging support of it "in its efforts to maintain peace."

Wright's Stand Defeated

Delegate Mahood, defending the original resolution, declared that the UN "was not organized to make war on the Korean people, devouring Korean towns and villages with gasoline jelly bombs." "The United Nations," he said, "is being used by the U.S. for purposes with which

(Continued on page 3)

SASK. CCF RALLY OPENS VISTAS

(Continued from page 1)

we cannot agree." Another delegate even more correctly declared the UN to be an organization whose purpose was "to maintain monopoly capitalism." Wright's amendment was defeated, after a lengthy debate, on a standing vote.

Roy Knight expressed in a more oblique, and more unprincipled way, the opposition of the national leadership to developments in the Saskatchewan section. Addressing the CCYM convention, which was in session at the same time as the adult movement's, Knight attacked opposition tendencies to the national leadership by scandalously slandering B.C. left-wingers.

"If you don't like this party, get out of it," he told the youth delegates; "don't stay in it and try to break it up." What he meant by "breaking it up" became crystal clear from his attack on members of the B.C. section who have been

SASK. CONVENTION RESOLUTION

WHEREAS the new amendment to the Criminal Code recently enacted by the Liberal Government of Canada defines treason as any act "assisting, while in or out of Canada, any enemy at war with Canada, or any armed forces against whom Canadian forces are engaged in hostilities whether or not a state of war exists between Canada and the country . . ."; and WHEREAS in the opinion of some the interpretation of the word "assisting" can be sufficiently broad to include mere verbal or written references criticizing Canadian policy; and

WHEREAS under the new amendments, "a police officer may search without warrant a person, vehicle or premises other than a dwelling house, where he believes an offence has been committed";

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention oppose the new amendments on the grounds that they constitute a direct and absolute threat to civil rights in Canada; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Convention call upon the Government of Canada to withdraw these amendments at the next session of the House of Commons; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this Convention call upon the Government of Canada to enact a Bill of Rights along the lines suggested by the CCF; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that this Convention call upon all CCF organizations to take whatever steps they may deem necessary to make certain that as much pressure as possible is brought to bear on the Government of Canada to make these desired changes in the legislation.

standing up in opposition to the treacherous policies of the national leadership. According to the July 25th Commonwealth "B.C. CCFers, he opined, were loyal to many things, but sometimes disloyal to the CCF. B.C. is ripe for the CCF government except for dissension within the party — groups of CCFers who are disloyal to their own party."

CCF left-wingers, the socialist wing in the CCF, may be somewhat disappointed that the Saskatchewan delegates did not formulate resolutions that more precisely, scientifically come to grips with the question of the UN, the colonial revolutions, etc.

The resolution on the UN with its naive wish that this body, organized by and composed of capitalist, imperialist powers, should "return to its original intention of working for peace" certainly leaves the door open for continued support of that den of thieves. The resolution on China-Korea, instead of taking a clear stand for the withdrawal of Canadian troops from Korea, sanctions the maintenance of "such bona-fide UN forces as are required to preserve peace."

Premier Douglas' speech to the CCF-CCYM banquet, which developed the line of the resolution on International Friendship, is permeated with the conception that there can be peace without the victory of socialism. While containing the odd hint that the war drive is a product of capitalism his speech and the resolution remained essentially pacifist. Calling for an Asiatic Marshall Plan, Douglas paid tribute to the European Marshall Plan "in combatting communism" which the Manitoba section at its 1948 convention correctly opposed as a plan to prop up decayed capitalist regimes in Europe.

To complete the picture it should be noted that a resolution calling for the enactment of the 40-hour week in cities of the province was not passed but amended to read that the convention favors the 40-hour week in principle but that it be made law only in the event unemployment becomes widespread. The convention did not take a stand for the nationalization of the extensive oil deposits that are being discovered and developed in the province.

To be sure the convention, in the resolutions that were presented and those that are missing, was not all that it should have been. But the 1951 Saskatchewan convention opens the door . . . the door that Coldwell tried to close at the 1950 national convention.

The convention resolutions are something to build on. The delegates turned back the trend that has been gaining pace in other provincial sections of the party—and did so concretely when they endorsed the editorial policy of their paper which, as outlined by its editor, is to promote freedom of expression.

Anti-War Line Can Revive CCF

The Saskatchewan convention legalizes within the CCF ideas and tendencies which Coldwell tried to legalize. And it does more than legalize them. It shows that leftist ideas are on the march.

Many delegates remarked during the convention that the Saskatchewan section was beginning to recapture its old crusading spirit. A few weeks before the convention the CCF took the Gravelbourg by-election much to the surprise of the Liberals and Tories, and we might add, of many CCFers. The Saskatchewan section is undergoing an unprecedented growth. How to explain this when the rest of the CCF, outside of the PAC's in Ontario, is comparatively dormant. We think that Douglas' speech, the anti-war sentiments voiced by the Saskatchewan section are responsible for this rejuvenation.

The battle that left wingers in B.C., Manitoba, and Ontario have been conducting against Coldwell's treachery is being taken up again. This time on a new plane and under changed circumstances. The past struggles against the national leadership's opportunism were waged during a period of confusion and decline in the labor movement and in the CCF. Today, with the evidence of Saskatchewan and its precedence, the ground is being prepared for successes in the struggle for a socialist CCF policy.

—Paul Kane.

CCF AFFILIATES TO GHOST OF THE BANKRUPT 2nd INTL.

By ROSS DOWSON

The Socialist International, the old Second International, has been re-formed. A manifesto issued from a conference held in Frankfurt, Germany, June 30 to July 3, announced that "Delegates from 34 Socialist and Labor parties through-out the world," representing "10 million members and 44 million voters . . . resolved to reconstitute the Socialist International."

Among the delegates in attendance were CCF national vice-chairman and president of the Quebec CCF, Therese Casgrain, Peter Scott, son of CCF leader Frank Scott, Betty Massey, and Carl Hamilton, national president of the CCF youth movement, the CCYM. One of the two non-European seats on the continuing bureau set up by the conference was granted to the CCF.

The socialist wing in the CCF, which has been under the assault of the Coldwell "Liberals in a hurry" wing, has no doubt taken heart at the news of the formation and the participation of the CCF in a "socialist" international . . . particularly at the phrasing of the manifestos and statements that have been published in some of the CCF papers.

FOLLOW MARX ?

Administrative Secretary Julius Braunthal's statement said in part "The Frankfurt decision will merely introduce a new phase in the history of the International which was founded in London 87 years ago—in 1864—with the participation of Karl Marx . . . the International which will re-enter the stage of history at Frankfurt is heir to the traditions upon which the First International was founded. . . . Its aim is the same as that proclaimed by Karl Marx in his 'Communist Manifesto' . . . It is the unity of principles and aims that links the International of today with its predecessors and gives it its place in the great international socialist movement which started with the First International."

Regardless of the validity of these words they are a far cry from the words of M. J. Coldwell at the 1950 Vancouver national convention when he lashed out against Trotskyism and demanded the dumping of the party's foundation document, the Regina Manifesto. There Coldwell declared that the CCF owes "little or nothing" to the teachings of Karl Marx and his followers who teach the theory of the class struggle. There Coldwell declared the class struggle, (which the preamble of the Frankfurt document notes capitalism "sharpened") to be outdated, to be dead!

JUST WORDS

If the words of the leadership of the newly constituted Second International could be taken seriously we could honestly say that those workers who are valiantly fighting to put the CCF on a socialist track have found new strength in international allies. At the same time, however, we would be hard put to understand the indisputable fact that the Coldwell leadership gives its enthusiastic support to the Frankfurt International which it

has the temerity to call the Fourth International in its dispatches.

The fact is that these statements are just words—empty words coming from the lips of the representatives of the parties affiliated to the Socialist International.

The Coldwells of the French and Italian SP's, of the Japanese Socialist Party, cannot talk in any other way than the way Julius Braunthal talks. The European and Asian working people detest capitalism and have shown in innumerable ways their keen desire to fight for a socialist society. Many of these parties (the French and Italian) have lost their working class base and have become predominantly middle class in membership and voting support, others such as the British and Norwegian Labor Parties constitute the bulk of the organized working class of their countries, but all are united—united behind the Western Imperialist bloc. And it is just impossible for the European and Asian labor bureaucracy to conduct its drive to line up the working class behind the Western Imperialist bloc without covering it with socialist phrases.

IMPERIALIST JARGON

The Frankfurt Conference did not result in the re-establishment of any socialist international solidarity. It only achieved a unification of its component parties' efforts to line up the workers for support of the imperialist war under the slogan "defence of the free world," "defence of democracy," — imperialist jargon for Third World War preparations. It was thereby an important achievement in the capitalists' drive for a Third World War.

It accomplished its main purpose by 1) favoring the capitalist rearmament program, with its inevitable slashes at the workers' living standards, as the top priority job of "the free democratic countries," 2) Giving complete support to the United Nations Imperialist war against Korea, 3) Adopting a declaration of principles which designates Communism as the main danger. (The N.Y. Times characterized this declaration as "a common denominator curiously compounded to satisfy all the shades of Marxist and non-Marxist Socialists.")

CCF DELEGATE REPORTS

The conference, composed in its overwhelming bulk of delegates from European Socialist Parties, found it impossible, in the words of CCF delegate Carl Hamilton, writing in the Saskatchewan Commonwealth of August 15 to adopt a policy on the key question that stared it in the face. It found "It impossible to come to agreement on the steps to be taken for a politically united Europe . . ."

Such a glaring exposure of an organization setting itself up to give advice and leadership to the European, not to speak of the world working class, caused CCF

delegate Hamilton to comment "one cannot help feeling that it is something of a tragedy that socialists cannot even consider a united policy on such important specific problems as the Schuman Plan or German Rearmament."

This "something of a tragedy" in fact spells out the complete bankruptcy of the Frankfurt International. If there could still be any doubt after checking off the major political decisions it DID make. It is clear that the newly formed International has no international working class program. What international program it has is only the extension into world politics of the national interests of the various bourgeois states that its delegates came from—the program of the world capitalist alliance under the leadership of Wall Street against the USSR, Eastern Europe and the colonial revolutions.

The bureaucrats leading the Second International are not only unable to, they stand rigorously opposed to developing an international working class program and to being committed to one.

The nationalist outlook which permeated and provided the soil for the growth of opportunism resulting in the degeneration of the old Second International and its component parties continues to permeate these same parties today.

The finally adopted statute states that the new Second International "is an association of parties" continuing as Comisco, in the words of Victor Larock, executive member of the Belgian Socialist Party, to refrain "from any attempt to impose majority decisions upon the socialists in all countries." Speaking at the time for the re-institution of the Second International he said "It seems urgent that parties seek common solutions which are best suited to serve their national and international interests. . . . What we demand is that Comisco while maintaining its structure and functions should be able to call itself the International."

And that's just about all there is to it, too. The Frankfurt conference can "call itself" an international but it isn't a workingman's international, an international socialist party, because it has none of the fundamental pre-requisites of one . . . an international socialist program with a series of strategic tactical and organizational methods that flow from it.

PARTY NOT ASSOCIATION

An international is not just an ideal . . . it is an absolute necessity dictated by the objective situation. Capitalism has long ago brought society to the stage where a further development of productive forces is impossible within the limitations imposed by the national state. The last two world wars were reactionary attempts by the capitalist rulers of this globe to solve the conflict set up by the productive capacity of modern large scale industry and the artificial restrictions placed on it by the national state. This is the fundamental contradiction of modern society. The only progressive solution is the world revolution and thus a world-wide socialist party.

The newly constituted Second In-

ternational starts off at the place to which the old Second International degenerated and then blew apart. It is merely an association of parties with a narrow nationalist outlook bleating platitudes about international solidarity but defending in the last analysis the narrow and reactionary interests of the national capitalist states which they are administering or would like to administer.

LEADERS' RECORD

Here is the same treacherous crew of misleaders who betrayed every socialist principle by disbanding in two successive imperialist wars in order to support their "own fatherlands." When the Russian workers overthrew their capitalists during the first world war and established a revolutionary workers government, these Second International socialists prevented the working class of Europe from following this example. They rescued capitalism. By their criminal failure to mobilize the masses of Germany they paved the way for the victory of Hitler. They are directly responsible for the continued existence of this system with its wars, atom bombs, depressions and fascism.

The leading party at the conference, the British Labor Party, is the Government party which conducts the imperialist oppression of colonial peoples. They are now engaged in a murderous war on the Malayan peoples and in a brutal attempt to prevent the people of Iran from nationalizing their oil industry and expropriating the British capitalists.

The character of the leadership of this "new" International is revealed by their servile attitude toward the Yankee big boss of world imperialism, Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the British Labor Party, bitterly complained at the conference that "many Socialists were still obsessed with doctrinal suspicions of United States democracy."

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The interests of the world working class were not represented in Frankfurt. Not any more than the interests of the Canadian working class are represented at a TLC or CCL Executive Board meeting. The reconstituted Second International and its program bring sharply to the fore the unpostponable task of rearming the working class of the world with its own revolutionary leadership, program and organization.

This work, which was begun by Lenin after the collapse of the Second International in 1914 and continued by Trotsky after the Stalinist degeneration of the Third International, is today conducted by the parties of the Fourth International in more than 33 countries across the globe. Here in Canada this unpostponable struggle is being waged by the forces of the Revolutionary Workers Party which is an integral part of the only international socialist party — the Fourth International.

09-01-2

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September, 1951

The Real Culprits

Three Canadian soldiers of the Korean Brigade have been sentenced to jail by a Canadian military court for complicity in a sordid incident involving a murder and attempted rape. Were it not for the horror involved, one could almost find something amusing in the affair, for it is a grim joke to imprison these men for atrocities which are being repeated hundreds and thousands of times every day in Korea.

Atrocities such as the complete destruction of Sinuiji, a city of 100,000, in thirty minutes by American bombers; or the massacre of every man, woman and child in the village of Shim-um Mium by South Korean troops; or the wholesale kidnapping operation ordered by the UN command which has torn at least 120,000 North Koreans from their homes and forcibly transported them to South Korea. According to Canadian Press correspondent William Boss, Canadian troops have produced about 12,000 of these displaced persons.

This recent trial is an attempt to whitewash the atrocity of the war itself. The government and army brass are trying to place the blame, for the outrages which they are the cause of, onto the shoulders of individuals who are mere cogs in the machine. Who are the killers in Korea? Who are the destroyers of Korean homes? The finger of guilt points straight at the St. Laurent government.

It was the St. Laurent government which involved the Canadian people in the Korean War; it was they who sent the soldiers to Korea, put guns and grenades in their hands and taught their use; in short, it was the St. Laurent government, acting as representatives of the Canadian capitalist class, who moulded these men into the killers and rapers of the Korean people.

The Canadian people must pass judgment. Their verdict can only be that the Canadian government is guilty, guilty of complicity in one of the most horrifying crimes in human history.

No Action on Layoffs

The number of workers laid off in auto, electrical and allied industries in Hamilton, Toronto, Windsor, etc., continues to climb. "Windsor faces economic chaos," the United Autoworkers Union has warned the government and party leaders in Toronto and Ottawa. There, since April, Ford has laid off 4,200 workers, another 1,500 will be laid off by Chrysler by the middle of this month. Rhys M. Sale, president of the profit-fat Ford company, has given notification

that they will institute a 32-hour work week this month.

Ford local president Jack Taylor has declared "We refuse to let Ford push us into a share-the-poverty position."

These are brave words but that is just what Ford and the other monopolists are doing. The workers are being made pay the cost of the anarchy of the capitalist system.

The union leadership has been scurrying around to anyone and everything, but the mighty power of the union which they themselves lead, to do something about the layoffs. Union representatives have met with bosses and civic officials, cabinet ministers, and so on up the line. So far the results add up to assurances from Ottawa that a committee under the chairmanship of Deputy Labor Minister MacNamara will be appointed to discuss the matter and see what can be done.

The only solution that has been suggested the committee might advance is to arrange some degree of financial assistance for workers to move out of areas such as Windsor to somewhere there is employment.

Meanwhile the workers are bearing the cost—eating up their savings, chiseling on food and housing to get along, using up their unemployment insurance reserves, walking the streets. Even if the government were to go into action with its plan of shifting workers around like so much cattle, it would be the workers who would pay, selling their homes at rock bottom prices, disposing of their furniture, leaving long-time friends and relatives, etc.

The only proposals the union leadership has made, other than wait, suffer and hope, were those placed before the 11,000 Ford local members who jammed the Windsor arena last month.

The executive of Local 200 asked that it be authorized to negotiate for 40 hours pay for 32 hours work, and to agree to a five-day work week if the company refused this demand. The meeting overwhelmingly rejected the report insisting, however, that the 32-hour work week schedule be paid on the basis of 40 hours.

To agree to the five-day work week would have meant to accept the lay-off of several thousands more on top of the 4,200 now laid off. The 32-hour week, instituted by Ford, must, of course, be paid on the basis of 40 hours, for the eight-hour loss in work is not the responsibility of the workers and they cannot afford to have their living standards, already being pared by the rising cost of living, cut this eight hours pay.

But acceptance of the 32-hour work week means acceptance of unemployment for the 4,200 union brothers who are now unemployed. What about them?

To refuse to let Ford push the autoworkers into a share-the-poverty position obviously means refusal to accept the whole idea of layoffs, not just 4,200, and no more.

Organized labor has the strength, over a million members, and it has on occasion shown the unity, that can turn back these anarchistic blows at this large and important section of its ranks.

What is needed now is a militant demonstration of its strength. There have been many solutions advanced; such as the more general political demand that the government lift credit restrictions on goods produced in these plants, and the demand that *Labor Challenge* has been advocating the Ford workers should fight for—the sliding scale of hours, that hours of work be automatically adjusted downwards, providing work for everyone at the original take-home pay.

But none of these demands can be won by any other method than by mass united struggle by the workers themselves.

(46) Sept. 1951



GRACE CARLSON

American workers will have the opportunity to vote labor, to vote for socialism in the 1952 presidential elections. The Socialist Workers Party (American Trotskyists) will place a presidential ticket in the field.

09-01-4



FARRELL DOBBS

This was the unanimous recommendation of the plenary sessions of the party's National Committee this month.

The N.C. has recommended Farrell Dobbs and Grace Carlson as candidates for President and Vice-President. These recommendations will be submitted to the nomination convention for ratification.

Dobbs and Carlson headed the party ticket in 1948—the first presidential campaign of the SWP. Dobbs played a leading role in the great Minneapolis Teamsters Strike of 1934—the strike that made Minneapolis a union stronghold. Carlson has also played an active role in the labor movement—a graduate with a Ph.D. degree from the University of Minnesota, she served four years as a delegate of the Minnesota State Employees Union Local 10 to the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly. Both were defendants in the 1941 frame-up trial of 18 leading U.S. Trotskyists and were imprisoned 13 months in federal penitentiary for the crime of opposing imperialist war and advocating socialism.

Plans are being made to spread the party program far and wide in the memorable tradition of the presidential campaigns waged by the great revolutionary socialist, Eugene V. Debs.

THE RWP IN ACTION

The readers of Labor Challenge were no doubt expecting to see in this issue a column on the national tour of Comrades Barry Brent and Murray Dowson who headed across Canada at the end of July. Unfortunately, due to a mix-up in the mail, we did not receive their article in time for publication in this issue.



DOWSON

It is all the more disappointing since they have so much to say about their tour.

On the basis of the letters received from them so far, we can say that the tour is a tremendous success—the results are far beyond our expectations.

At the Sault, the Lakehead, Winnipeg, Regina, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Calgary and Trail they have received a most friendly reception, not only from old-time Labor Challenge partisans, but from activists in the mass organizations of the Canadian people—the trade unions, the co-ops and the CCF.

They have to date sold to these activists, 52 subs, the great majority for one year; as well as almost a hundred dollars worth of literature—most of it in 10c, 15c and 25c pamphlets. We have had to replenish their stock more than once.

They have met everywhere militants and trade union activists who were really very anxious to know about Trotskyism because they realize that the Stalinists and the CCF leaders are failing miserably to bring the truth to the people of Canada on the most immediate and fundamental problems facing them in their daily life.

People are seeking the truth. And the truth marches on with Labor Challenge across Canada.

The next issue of Labor Challenge will contain a highly interesting column from our comrades

★ ★ ★

"We took over the Labor Day parade here in Toronto," Ken tells us. "Aside from the floats sponsored by a couple of UAW locals and those of the Retail Wholesale Workers Union (still waiting for a go-ahead from the government board for a certification vote at Eaton's) the only working class ideas at the parade were those put across by Labor Challenge. The floats, as in the past, were for the most part company advertising floats with a little union label in some scarcely noticeable place. Green headed the TLC section into the Ex. to give his notorious speech, seated in a super limousine with a liveried chauffeur—a caricature of the trade union bureaucracy.

"We got an excellent reception. Two of our comrades sold almost 100 copies at the CCL forming-up point alone, two comrades covered the TLC forming-up point but we didn't do as well there. I think the marchers were glad to see a paper that talks in line with their experiences of fighting for a union and union conditions in the shops.

"No one was selling the CCF News; the Stalinists didn't cover the marchers but only attempted to sell the Tribune to onlookers along the route.

"A consistent reader of Labor Challenge told me the other day that one of the best lifts he got this year was looking back over the parade, when his section had to stop at an intersection, and seeing a couple of marchers pull Labor Challenges from their pockets to read them."

This snappy propaganda job put the Toronto Branch of the Revolutionary Workers Party up to the 795 mark—205 points short of the objective it set in its efforts to hop-up Labor Challenge circulation in the Toronto area. "The fact that we were rained out a couple of rallies for door to door sub work is the only thing that prevented us from being in a much better position," says Ken.

Top scorer there is Paul, who is away out ahead, with Ken himself in pursuit, followed closely by Al. Team No. 2 is licking No. 1 to a frazzle and it looks like the several rallies to go, which should see Toronto reach the 1,000 mark, won't be enough to allow it to catch up—but we will see.

As we go to press we have been momentarily expecting to hear from Windsor. A hurry up call from Hugh sent a bundle of Labor Challenges off and we hope in time for the Labor Day parade there. There is a little private competition going on in one of the Ford departments but more on that later.

The Vancouver branch got off to a late start, "but we are on our way now," writes Lil. "The long drought here has made itself felt on the pocketbooks of the woodworkers primarily, and the rallies during Exhibition week were poor due to workers being out when we called—but we are in there hitting away. We have sold quite a few single copies, something we had not attempted seriously to do before."

Vancouver's total now stands at the 313 mark. When we last heard, three of the comrades were jockeying for first honours in the drive there. Most Vancouver points have been scored by one year subs.

There is not much time left. Next issue will see the close of the drive. One of our Toronto readers promised to take his copy to the shop and get some subs from his workmates. An excellent idea. Perhaps some other readers can help in this job of spreading the message of socialism. But if they are going to count on the final scoreboard we have to get them in at once.

LD CONGRESS th INT'L MEETS

World Congress of the Fourth International
Switzerland at the end of August and the be-
ginner. A total of 74 elected delegates

he plenary
sessions which last-
gates, observers
from 25 coun-
27 organiza-
notable was the
e Far East com-
rades repre-
ia, Vietnam and
delegations from
resenting Argen-
tine, Chile and
from the labor

WORLD CONGRESS OF 4th INT'L MEETS

The Third World Congress of the Fourth International
was held in Switzerland at the end of August and the be-
ginner of September. A total of 74 elected delegates

participated in the plenary
sessions and commissions which last-
ed 11 days. Delegates, observers
and visitors came from 25 coun-
tries and represented 27 organiza-
tions. Especially notable was the
delegation from the Far East com-
posed of a dozen comrades repre-
sented China, India, Vietnam and
Ceylon, as well as delegations from
Latin America representing Argen-
tine, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and
Uruguay.

A representative from the labor
movement of Black Africa par-
ticipated for the first time in a
meeting of the Fourth Internation-
al. Europe was represented by
delegations from all the principal
countries. A representative of a
Communist opposition movement
in the USSR who was to partici-
pate as observer at the Congress
was prevented from coming at the
last moment by material diffi-
culties.

The Congress held its plenary
sessions in a hall specially decorat-
ed for that purpose. A Viet-
namese revolutionary artist repro-
duced portraits of the principal
martyrs of the Trotskyist move-
ment.

The Congress assigned honorary
chairmanship to its militants who
are at present victims of imperial-
ist or Stalinist repression. Among
them are Bolivian, Vietnamese and
Greek comrades, notably the re-
cently arrested Guillermo Lora,
member of the Central Committee
of the Bolivian Section of the
Fourth International, Deputy in
the Bolivian Parliament and leader
of the miners' union, and Comrades
Rene and Liu, leaders of the Viet-
namese section of the Fourth In-
ternational, under arrest by the
Vietminh authorities.

The work of the Congress was
carried on in five languages for
which a permanent translator
functioned: English, French, Ger-
man, Spanish and Chinese, with-
out taking into account summary
translations in other languages.

The Third World Congress open-
ed with a greeting from the Secre-

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Bankruptcy of CCL Tops Exposed

By BARRY BRENT

th annual convention
wild confusion at the
asurer Pat Conroy.

ats gets the greatest mea-
power and the greatest
per capita tax. All purely a
in the pork barrel. No le-
as Canadian autonomy is
— for example, Conroy's
and the noticeable smile
turn Irishman flicked on
embled delegates as he
for the exit, was, to some
wedged that a well-heeled
pader of the Canadian sec-
the United Mine Workers
him.
ureaucrats of both factions



A. R. MOSHER

r level bent to turn the con-
into a tool of their con-
ambitions. The convention
scame a facade for the un-
ed caucus maneuverings
the surface which finally
l into the open. This had
et in confusing delegates
that the real issues of the
lon—the interests of the
people of Canada—really
and substituting for them
es that confront the ruling
rats. You couldn't walk
he corridors of the Van-
Hotel without stumbling
(continued on page 4)

ELECT CCF TO POWER IN ONT.

By K. McALPINE

On November 22 the workers and farmers of Ontario
will go to the polls to elect a Conservative, a Liberal, or a
CCF government. Premier Frost, successor to labor-hating
Col. Drew, announced the election date two years before the
government term of office ex-
pires. The fact that the elec-
tion was called now can only
be taken as an admission on
the part of the Tory government
that the housing crisis, the soar-
ing cost of living for which
it has now answers, can only get
worse—for the Tories to face the
electorate in 1953 would be to face
utter destruction.

The Frost machine hopes that
an election at this time, with the
Royal tour shortening campaign
time and diverting interest from
the real issues confronting the
people of Ontario, will work in
their favor.

In Ontario alone twelve times
the meagre 5,000 homes that have
been promised by Frost are needed
annually just to keep up with the
increase in population. Even if these
were built they would come nowhere
near a solution. The Tories have
stood idly by while inflation cuts
into the living standards of the
people. The Frost government has
nakedly exposed itself as an enemy
of the trade union movement
through its reactionary labor laws
that delay unions for months be-
fore certification boards and the al-
ready certified unions in endless
legal processes before conciliation
boards, etc. The Gale decision is
but one example of many that
could be given.

What of the Liberals? They go
into the elections personified by
the bumptious windbag, Walter
Thomson. Prior to this election as
the new Liberal leader this fatuous

M.P. from Ontario riding vowed
that he would not make any prom-
ises. Ever since then he has been
skurrying about in a whirlwind
campaign of demagogic promises,
all in contradiction to each other
and all at variance with the record
and program of his own party.

Let us put this fat bull, who
goes about the province propelled
by the wind of his own promises,
into the show ring and look at his
record while he was an M.P. in
Ottawa. Whenever any progres-
sive motions were before the house
Thomson absented himself; ex-
amples are: a CCF motion demand-
ing an excess profits tax, a motion
to adopt price controls, one for
the exemption of income tax on
low income groups, and so on.
When he was present he voted for
the most reactionary legislation and
against such motions as the one
put forward by the CCF against
any increase in the sales tax and
another to give equal educational
opportunities by federal assistance
to provincial treasuries.

The Ontario Federation of Labor,
disgusted with Frost's brush-off of
a memorandum they submitted to
him last July, and by the Tory
chief's definite refusal to in-
clude union security in the Ontario
Labor Code, has been further
thrusted along the road of political
action.

Unlike previous election cam-
paigns when the PAC's worked in-
dependently of the CCF, and their
support amounted to little more
than the official blessing of the
labor movement, in this election

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perialism, while irreconcilably combatting Stalinism which is incapable of unifying and effectively directing the anti-imperialist forces on a world scale.

The political report, together with the documents presented to the Congress (Theses on Orientation and Perspectives and the Political Resolution) were jointly adopted by 39 votes to 3 with 1 abstention after a discussion lasting two and one-half days in which 30 delegates participated.

BUFFER ZONE

The resolution on the countries of "People's Democracy," drafted by the International Secretariat, was presented with a report which reviewed the evolution of the countries in the East European buffer zone since 1945 and the corresponding development of the analysis of the International on this question. The report defended the designation of the "People's Democracies" as having acquired, beginning with 1949, a definitive character as "deformed workers' states," and envisaged the defense of these countries against imperialism, as well as a program of political revolution against the Kremlin bureaucracy and its agents similar to the Trotskyist program for the USSR. The slogans of independent Socialist Republics for Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, etc., and their voluntary federation were to remain as previously the central slogans for these countries. The report and resolution were adopted after a day's discussion, by 41 votes to 2.

(Continued on page 2)

Congress of 4th Int'l —

(Continued from page 1)

The resolution on the "Yugoslav Revolution and the Fourth International," adopted by the Ninth Plenum of the International Executive Committee, was presented to the Congress in a report which analyzed the stages of development in the policy of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the reasons for this development and the attitude of the Trotskyist movement toward the shifts in this policy. The report and resolution were adopted by 37 votes with 1 abstention, 4 voters being absent.

All the documents adopted were referred to the new International Executive Committee for editing and the incorporation of proposed amendments compatible with the general line of these documents, taking into account the remarks made during the discussions.

IMPORTANT ADVANCES

The Congress heard the activities report of the outgoing leadership of the International which registered the important advances realized by the Trotskyist organizations since the Second World Congress in 1948, notably in Europe, Latin America, Ceylon, etc., both from the viewpoint of their organizational strengthening as well as the far greater political homogeneity which was reflected in the reports. It stated that most of the sections of the International have

successfully integrated themselves in the mass movement of their countries and have learned to work out an orientation adjusted to the national peculiarities of the working class movement in which they must work.

The discussion following this report in which 18 delegates participated showed through the activities of most sections that solid ties had already been established by the Trotskyist movement with the authentic movement of the masses in the principal countries of the world. The activities report was unanimously adopted.

The Congress elected a new Executive Committee of the International composed of 21 members and nine candidates.

LATIN AMERICA

The Congress adopted different resolutions presented by various commissions dealing with the situation of the Fourth International in several countries (France, Austria, Argentina, etc.). It adopted a political resolution answering the main problems posed by the revolutionary movement in Latin America, recognized a single Argentine Section of the Fourth International and confirmed the election of the Latin-American Bureau of the International Secretariat. It instructed the new International Executive Committee to draw up a con-

crete plan together with the delegates from the Far East on the composition and operation of the Far Eastern Bureau of the International Secretariat. It instructed the International Secretariat to draft a manifesto to the workers of the whole world in its name.

Before concluding its work, the Congress observed a minute of silence to the memory of Leon Trotsky, since the eleventh anniversary of the assassination of the great revolutionary coincided with the opening period of the Congress. It sent greetings to the widows of the martyrs of the movement and to militants and leaders who were celebrating the 25th anniversary of their participation in the Trotskyist movement.

The Third World Congress marked a high point in the history of Trotskyism, because of its complete success from the technical standpoint, despite the immense difficulties arising from restricted material means; because of the representation of a considerable number of countries greater than had been present at any of the previous assemblages of the international Trotskyist movement, and above all by the remarkable political homogeneity manifested throughout the discussions. The fraternal atmosphere which featured its work as well as the political maturity exhibited by the delegates represented the highest degree of political and organizational cohesion that the world Trotskyist movement has achieved since its beginnings.

The Daily Papers High-Powered

10-01-2a

PROPAGANDA SHEETS

By ROSS DOWSON

If your reading were limited to the daily newspapers that bulge the stands, to the weeklies like the *Standard*, its *Telegram* version *The Weekend*, or the *Star Weekly*, or to the slicks like *Time* and *Newsweek* that flood in from the United States—and that is the case with the great bulk of the population of this country—you would have only the most distorted picture of what is going on in Canada and abroad.

Take the Cicero case for instance. Have you even heard of it? Governor Thomas E. Dewey when in Singapore recently felt it necessary to publicly condemn Asian newspapers for featuring this case so prominently. He assured the people of Asia that the incident was "both vigorously suppressed and prosecuted by public authorities."

While police looked on a mob of several hundred, and at times thousands, incited by racists, ran wild for several days in this Michigan town and gutted the apartment rented by Harvey E. Clark Jr., a negro bus driver. Few Canadian papers so much as reported this outrage. Now an American Press dispatch dated September 18 has appeared in the *Toronto Globe* and *Mail*. The tiny news item reports that on that day a Cook County (Chicago) grand jury indicted the Cicero police chief, charged with misconduct. It continues: "In another indictment five persons were charged with conspiring to injure property, cause financial loss to property-owners and to cause riot."

Any normal person upon reading that report would believe that some form of justice is underway, that the five persons indicted were members of the mob of vandals, a few of the 117 that the police finally arrested. But he would be wrong. The five indicted for conspiracy were opponents, not investigators or participants in the riot. Most of them were not even near the scene when the riots took place. One of the indicted is the lawyer for the victims, the others: the owner of the property destroyed by the vandals, her attorney, the rental agent of the property, and a man alleged to have distributed a leaflet entitled "End Mob Rule in Cicero" several weeks after the riot.

We know the truth about Cicero only because Labor Challenge happens to have an exchange with the *Militant*, a weekly paper published by American Trotskyists and their friends.

Or take this case, the authentic-

ity of which the Lords of the Press can scarcely challenge since it appeared in the pages of *Maclean's*, one of their show pieces. A writer in the August, 1949 issue had this to say re the handling of the news by the *Toronto Daily Star* and the *Telegram*, both stoutly claiming to report the news impartially, around the 1949 federal election.

"During the last week of the campaign the *STAR* gave five times as much space to the Liberal Party as it did to the Progressive Conservative Party and the *TELEGRAM* gave five times as much space to the Progressive Conservative Party as it did to the Liberals. The *STAR* gave the CCF which forms the official opposition in the Ontario Legislature 2.4 per cent of its total political coverage in that week and the *TELEGRAM* gave the CCF 2.6 per cent . . . at one Drew meeting the *STAR* estimated the crowd at 400, the *TELEGRAM* at 3,000."

Were there 3,000 inspired applauding people listening to the Tory leader or 400 dispirited people? Tallor-made news, as much as editorial lies and success story columns, shapes minds.

What to think, what to believe with the big newspapers, and it's the same with the radio, the movies and the schools, nearly all the channels of information, flooding the country with lies. Despite the colossal strides made in communications it is getting increasingly more difficult for any worker or farmer in this country to know what another is doing or thinking without seeing and talking to him in person.

The reason for this is that nearly all the channels of communication are in the hands of Canada's Fifty Big-shots. M. J. Coldwell has said of the press set-up in Western Canada "A tremendous newspaper monopoly exists in Saskatchewan and Manitoba . . . the *Regina Leader-Post*, the *Saskatoon Star Phoenix* and the *Winnipeg Free Press* are owned and controlled by the Sifton family and the people read whatever that monopoly decides they should read."

Add to Sifton's, the Western holdings of the Southam family—the *Winnipeg Tribune*, *Calgary Herald*, *Medicine Hat News*, *Edmonton Journal* and the *Vancouver Province* and you get a little more

complete picture of the stranglehold that exists on news and idea dissemination.

The situation is no different in the East; there is the *Southam's*, *Sifton's*, that most influential and brazenly demagogic paper in the country, the *Toronto Star*, the mining interest's *Globe* and *Mail-Telegram* combination, the Thomson chain with its 14 dailies, its score of weeklies, its *New Liberty*, its radio stations.

What they don't own outright the Lords of the Press control with a vice-like grip by other means: through control of advertising, the threat of bankruptcy if it is withdrawn, the promise of slush advertising, (John D. Rockefeller once created a by-product, *Nujol*, for the sole purpose of setting up an advertising fund with which to buy up editorial policy) its complete control of international and national news service such as the *Canadian Press*, etc.

The Lords of the Press no longer even bother to talk about a free press. They talk as Roy Thomson, head of the Thomson chain did in a full page ad that recently appeared in numerous Canadian newspapers. "It is well for the general public to know," he said, "that the only way to have an independent press in this country is to have the press independent financially. . . . Years ago newspapers rarely made profits with the result that they had to be subsidized by various interests and especially by political groups, to stay in business. . . . Daily newspapers today accept no subsidies from anyone. They have built their businesses into profitable enterprises and no longer have any need to beg favors from industry or governments in power."

Or listen to the *Globe* and *Mail* in an editorial eulogy of its recently deceased mining magnate-owner William H. Wright: "He sought to establish a Canadian paper of independent views that would give vigorous leadership to the principles in which he believed."

There is no suggestion here of an impartial presentation of the news but a haughty, defiant declaration of independence of and non-responsibility to any and everyone . . . of newspaper publication solely to put forward the personal ideas of the capitalist, labor-hating owner.

By and large it is true what Thomson says; that no longer do papers have "to be subsidized by various interests to stay in business," certainly not subsidized in the old way at any rate. No longer are there any important papers in

→ To p. 2

OF CAPITALIST CLASS

this country that can be threatened with bankruptcy by the big merchandising outfits. While the technique of advertising blackmail was once the main weapon with which Big Business controlled the "free" press something new has been added. The financial and industrial oligarchy no longer depend on this method of control. They needed a running defence and a running propaganda instrument, so they have taken over the press. They own it lock, stock and barrel.

The press today accepts subsidies from no one—no one but the owner (although Mr. Thomson and company accept a subsidy of \$11,000,000 a year from the government in reduced postal rates). The press today is independent—dependent of everyone but such owners as the Wright-Hargraves mining interests. The press today has no need to "beg favors from industry or governments in power." It is flesh of the flesh of the Fifty Big Shots who control Canadian industry and finance. It need not beg favors from governments in power; the Liberal and Tory governments are dependent upon it for favors, dependent upon it to build them up, to spread their lies, their pious platitudes on the problems confronting the people, and to get them re-elected into office.

William H. Wright's purchase of the Globe and Mail and his financing of the purchase of the Toronto Telegram is the most obvious example of Big Business' shameless rape of the press to provide itself with instruments, as the editors of the Globe and Mail openly admit, to advance the principles in which it believes.

The Southams, Canada's ranking newspaper dynasty, who own dailies in seven major cities, who control three radio stations and two of the biggest printing plants in the country, started off as owners of the HAMILTON SPECTATOR to become founders of a company which later became the Steel Company of Canada and another, Canada Steamships Limited. Today they are not just newspaper men with a scattering of other minor holdings but an integral part of the financial and industrial oligarchy. Through marriages alone the Southam fortune is interlinked with the Ahern interests, who recently sold out their Ottawa street railway holdings, the McColl Frontenac oil interests, the lumber fortune of H. R. MacMillan.

So corrupted has the press become under the crushing grip of the ruling oligarchy, so discredited has it become in the eyes of broad layers of the people that Big Busi-

Support the Workers' Press

The workers' press needs your help!

LABOR CHALLENGE, the rising cry of truth in the glare of lies disgorged by the venal press of Big Business, is launching a financial drive.

It needs \$1,500—to liquidate its annual deficit—to build a reserve so that it can continue to appear in the next year—to continue to fling broadcast its message of the socialist hope of humanity.

This sum is several hundred dollars more than we raised in our last financial drive. In this day of the shrinking pocketbook you may think that that's a tall order. And it is. But we need that extra money and it has been in that spirit, the spirit of achieving the difficult, that LABOR CHALLENGE has managed to come out at all.

Our old time friends are going to give again but their ranks have to be broadened to reach the \$1,500 objective. We are opening their honored ranks for new recruits—YOU.

If you are a CCFer you will certainly want to aid LABOR CHALLENGE for you know that it is only from its pages that you can learn what is really going on in the CCF and the problems confronting CCF ranks; it is the voice of the CCF's socialist wing. If you are a trade unionist our reports of the CCL and TLC convention will convince you that LABOR CHALLENGE must continue to come out. If you are a housewife, a student, an intellectual, wanting to work your way out of the puzzle of world affairs, indignant about prices, opposed to the war that is threatening, shocked by unemployment in Windsor, the perversion of knowledge by capital, and wanting to act on these—you will want to give us a hand.

Send in your donation now so that we can clear the decks of this problem of finances and get on with the job.

ness is disclosing considerable anxiety about its ability to continue, with any real success, to put its treacherous message across. This year Fortune estimates that U.S. business alone will be spending \$100 million to overcome what the former chairman of the American Association of Advertising Agencies has called "the breakdown in communications." This tremendous sum of money will be spent in the publication of plant papers, booklets and splashy high-powered ads in the big dailies, advancing in more slick and subtle methods the case for Big Business.

The capitalists themselves, having turned the daily papers from disseminators of news into scarcely disguised propaganda sheets no longer rely upon them for information to govern their own actions. Most big businesses today employ specialists to study world events, economic and political trends for their own information. Special papers and letter services giving factual and candid reports of the world situation are being more and more relied upon, not the press which they themselves control, for the determination of Big Business policies.

Today more than ever before the working people of this country need a paper of their own that contains factual and candid reports on the world situation, that fear-

confront them, to aid in the determination of their policies—a paper that tells the truth.

Such a paper is LABOR CHALLENGE. It is published by workers like you who sacrifice the dimes and dollars necessary to make up printing costs. They do this because they know we've got to get the truth if we are ever going to change things. They believe that we have got to mobilize the mighty power of labor and put the working people in charge of the destiny of this country. To save ourselves from perishing in an atomic war we've got to find one another, close ranks and push ahead all together for a socialist Canada.

Once a year at this time Labor Challenge puts on a drive for funds to enable it to continue publication. Of course, dedicated as it is to an all-out struggle for the defence of labor and to the establishment of a workers and farmers government, it has no one to appeal to but working people like yourself.

Labor Challenge, unlike the press of Big Business, needs a subsidy in order to live and in order to grow. We know you as an interested party will want to subsidize Labor Challenge, to subsidize it so that the truth can be made known, will flourish and make us free.

Send in your donation, large or small, now, to LABOR CHALLENGE, 62½ Elm Street, Toronto 2.

Anti-War Forces Rise But Peace Camp Upset

By PAUL KANE

Opposition to the cold blooded preparations for another World War, an atomic war, the terrors of which are beyond human comprehension, is growing and deepening in this country.

The most inspiring proof*

that this is so was the provincial convention of the Saskatchewan CCF, reported in our last issue, which clearly demarked itself from Coldwell's espousal of Canadian participation in the destruction of Korea. Quebec anti-war sentiments are being voiced by *Le Travail*, organ of the Catholic Syndicates, which in a recent issue called for "general negotiations on all problems . . . starting from the limited negotiations in Korea," and charged that "the armaments race means war sooner or later." They have also been given voice in the sharp exposures that the French Canadian nationalist daily *Le Devoir* has been making of UN intervention in Korea and its latest attack on the Jesuit organ "America" for its support of the Japanese Treaty in which it charges that the "American state is imperialist."

Almost as heartening as these inspiring developments themselves is the fact that the exceedingly vocal Stalinist-led Peace Congress, with the pitiful scattering of moon-struck pastors and do-gooders that it has managed to suck along in its train, is not only not leading them but appears to be not even capitalizing on them.

As a matter of fact from where we sit, as this movement is on the rise, the Stalinists appear to be having trouble within their own camp. The men and women who have been going into the streets with the Ban the Bomb and 5-Power Pact petitions, the honest workers who have been taken for a ride, are giving a hard time to the professional functionaries at the head of the crooked and treacherous outfit operating on behalf of the Kremlin in the Canadian labor movement under the name of the Labor Progressive Party and numerous other aliases and fronts.

A casual reading of Leslie Morris' report to what passed off in the LPP as a convention last January revealed that there were considerable doubts in the ranks about the course of the "struggle for peace." So widespread do these doubts appear to have developed

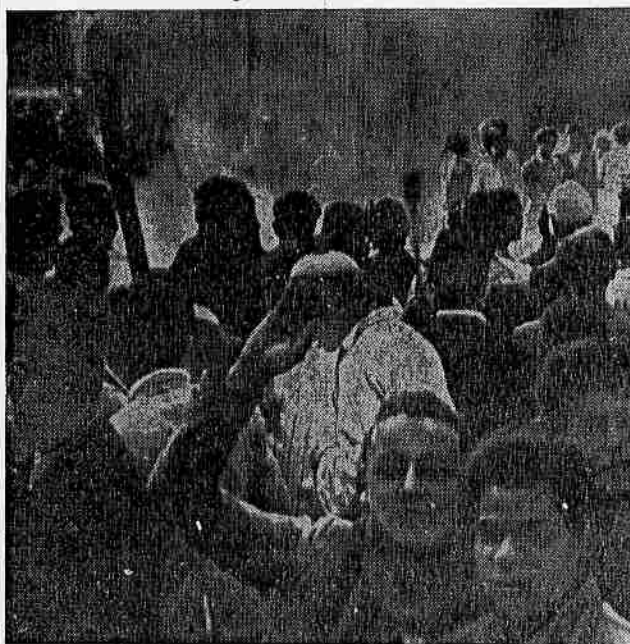
that Morris and Stanley Ryerson, have, in recent months, felt it necessary to attempt to come to grips with them in the party press, the Canadian Tribune.

The opposition has had to be satisfied, up until recently, with carefully framed questions, made by Ryerson and Morris and written up in their columns, straw men that they could easily knock down. But we would gather that this method has proved unsatisfactory in quieting the opposition for in two recent columns some questions that are actually serious ones have been let pose.

In his June 4th column Ryerson chastized some honest doubters of the effectiveness of the petition for a five-power pact with the threat "To doubt that the Canadian government (the warmongering St. Laurent government that is, P.K.) can be forced to support the Peace Pact is a reflection of a doubt that peace can be won."

Not intimidated by being damned to the camp of capitulation to atomic bombing, our correspondent comes back for more in Ryerson's September 24th column. She challenges; If Truman did sign such a pact "it would only be a 'scrap of paper' and he would continue to work for war 'through the back door.'" Brashly assuming this ABC to be an ABC she continues by voicing openly what many sincere LLP rank and filers, vaguely familiar with the teachings of Lenin on war, have salvaged their conscience with—that "the signing of such a pact is not the aim of the worldwide campaign but rather the prevention of war by the will of the people for peace aroused in the course of the campaign."

Isn't the campaign just to set the masses in motion towards a communist showdown? Isn't it all just a device to provide ourselves with a broader and more respectable base upon which we can work with our real ideas? Tell us that we don't really mean that St. Laurent and Truman can "change their spots." Tell us that we really don't believe that there can really be any peace under capitalism.



A scene in Cairo, shortly after World War II, when Egyptian workers and students demonstrated to demand withdrawal of British troops. Similar demonstrations are taking place today. The Egyptian masses are on the march again, and with great promise of success.

Ryerson heads his column Do we mean it? And not permitting even a shadow for rationalization of any kind he replies; "Yes . . . we are in earnest. We mean what we say. And that's just what appears to be worrying some honest LPPers."

The LPP means it when the B.C. section comes out with an electoral statement that it will not support the CCF against the Liberals and Tories but some nebulous non-class "precursor of a peoples government, made up of men and women of diverse political faiths but united on the idea of legislating for peace, progress and security . . ." It means it when a Saskatchewan leader advances in the August 6th TRIBUNE the proposal that western farmers should elect "members to Ottawa consisting of men of integrity, beyond party lines . . ." When trade union writer William Kashtan writes in the June 18th issue that the question of peace "transcends political and other lines," chastising leftists who "think that the fight for peace will not be won until the labor movement changes its basic policy . . ." There can be peace, lasting peace, as things are,

under capitalism, the leadership shouts in chorus.

This peace program, with its plea for a Five-Power Pact, is nothing but a plea for the maintenance of the status quo—abandonment of the struggle for the socialist transformation of society in the capitalist countries such as Canada and abandonment of the aspirations of the colonial slaves for national independence and a better life.

You don't understand the theory of peaceful co-existence, screams Ryerson. In his August 6th column Morris pleads that it would be "fatal" to hold the idea "that the war that is being planned" flows from fundamental antagonisms between the world powers—as he puts it, "between capitalism and communism." Not at all, says Morris. It is merely a plot being hatched by a handful of evil men.

And it is true, of course, that Ryerson's opponent doesn't understand the theory of co-existence . . . and she has life, and incidentally Lenin who generalized upon previous experiences in this class society, on her side. She is right that Truman's signature, if it could be got, would only be a scrap of paper.

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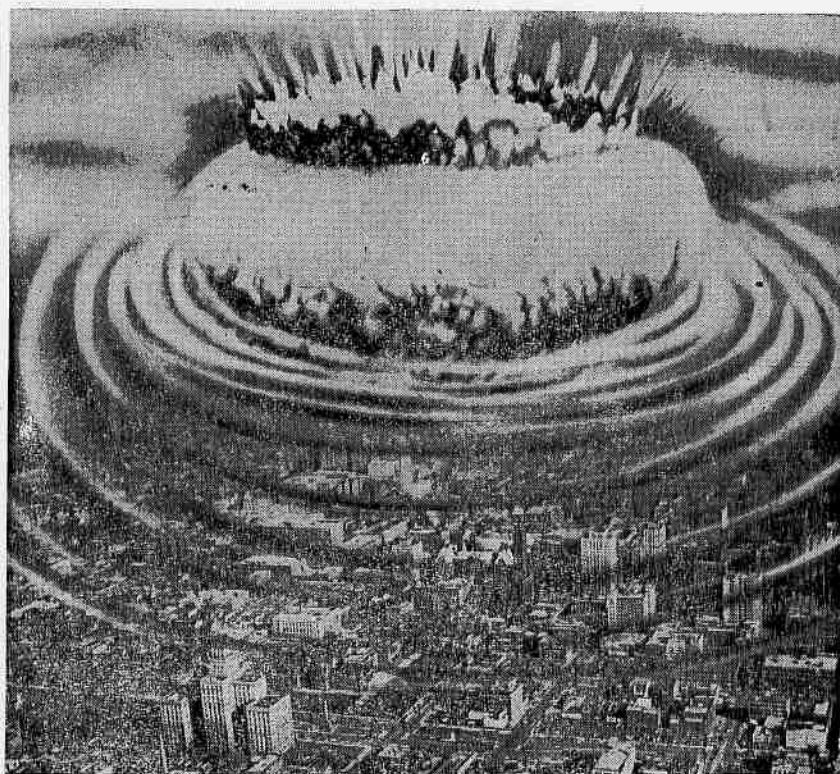
Since 1917 co-existence has been manifest by capitalist military intervention, diplomatic outlawry, the Nazi invasion; and now the cold war, trade embargoes, the ringling of the Soviet Union with a chain of air bases with bombing fleets poised for attack and the stepped-up preparation of the Western imperialist powers headed by America for an all-out war.

Lenin is on her side, not Ryerson's. He never taught peaceful co-existence. It was Stalin who "taught" this. Of course Lenin was for peace, or rather for a truce, for that was all he hoped to get from the capitalist powers. Here is one of his many comments on this question: "As long as capitalism and socialism remain side by side we cannot live peacefully—the one or the other will be the victor in the end. An obituary will be sung either over the death of world capitalism or the death of the Soviet Republic. At present we have only a respite in the war."

Lenin taught what Morris says would be "fatal" to believe. He taught that war in this epoch is beyond the scheming of evil men but the implacable logic of the capitalist system; that wars are caused by imperialist rivalries and struggles for markets and fields for the investment of surplus capital. Lenin taught that only through the socialist overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of planning and production for use could real peace and a good life of freedom and abundance be secured for humanity. He taught that the class struggle of the workers, merging with the colonial revolutions in a common front against imperialism is the only genuine fight against war.

The peace campaign of the LPP leadership by which they sabotage the class struggle of the workers and try to deflect it into pacifist petition campaigns for diplomatic deals in the momentary interests of the Kremlin, is no less treacherous than their jingo sell-out during World War II.

The rising opposition against war needs some sign posts set out to move it forward on its way to effective action. That is why Labor Challenge has raised the demand for a national referendum on war or peace. Let the people vote! This demand and the demand that all Canadian troops be withdrawn from Korea must become the program of the anti-war movement. The people will have peace when they have the power and use the power to take it and make it for themselves.



This is a picture of what would happen if an atomic bomb was exploded over the city of Toronto. It gives some idea of the horrors that will be inflicted on dozens of cities all over the world if another war is started. World capitalism, in its drive to war, is preparing the way for explosions like this. The people of Canada can help avoid these terrors by joining forces with workers in other lands and putting an end to the system which breeds war — by establishing international socialism. Then the power of the atom will be used, not for destruction, but to build a new world—a world freed from hunger, poverty, and violence.

LABOR CHALLENGE

A monthly paper bringing the truth about labor's struggle for socialism to the working people of Canada.

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October, 1951

A Crude Deception

About 500 of the Princess Pats now in Korea will probably be home by Christmas. The government has devised a way to get another 600 back much sooner than they would be due to return—it's in the hands of the 600 men themselves.

Don't think for a moment that Ottawa has suddenly turned an ear to either the Pats, the Koreans or the people here at home. The Pats greeted the first news of peace talks in Korea with wild shouts of Let's Get Out of Korea. The people of Korea, in both the North and South of that blood-torn peninsula, want nothing more than that Canadian and other UN troops pull out and leave them in peace to attempt to reconstruct their shattered lives. The Canadian people opposed the Korean war from the start as St. Laurent well knew if only from a Gallup poll taken prior to his shipment of Canadian troops. But Ottawa is still deaf to all this—these are merely the expressions of everyone most immediately involved.

The 600 men who can pull out of Korea if they want to—who have in every meaning of these words—their fate in their own hands—have only to do a simple thing.

When they joined the Special Force they volunteered for 18 months service. Several weeks ago the government decided to ignore the fact that these men should be released upon the completion of this term by laying down a new regulation. The new regulation was to the effect that all troops would have to have eight months service in Korea, including one winter, before being eligible to get a leave from Korea so that their release could be even considered. This was all quite moral, quite ethical—you see, it said in small print on the 18 month enlistment papers that the men enlisted for that period OR LONGER.

So that this shouldn't cause any hard feelings—the government and the top brass left a loop hole. If these men want to pull out of Korea before meeting the new specifications they can easily do so—it's up to them. All they have to do is remuster, sign on again, this time for a three-year stint, and they will be winged out of Korea back home. Of course they wouldn't be home for long as Ottawa is planning to ship them off to Europe. But it is entirely up to them.

During the last war the air was full of government and company appeals to back our boys up by buying war bonds, producing more, going without. The campaign has started again with the same appeals. But it seems crystal clear to us that really backing up the boys would mean to demand that all Canadian troops be brought out of Korea. No ifs, ands or buts. Bring them all out of Korea now!

Of Historic Significance

The Third World Congress of the Fourth International reported in this issue represents an important milestone in the history of the world working class movement.

The very fact that revolutionary leaders from all continents could convene to discuss a program of irreconcilable struggle against capitalism, against its barbarous imperialist rule and wars and to seek the means of re-establishing the independence of the worker's movement from the treacherous conservative Moscow bureaucracy is in itself an event of great significance.

The Congress was dominated by this indisputable fact; that we live in the epoch of the great showdown, a period comparable historically, but vaster in scale, only to the social earthquakes which brought down the entire feudal structure at the close of the 18th century.

The forces of revolution and of progress are on the march. This was the keynote of the Congress. Despite the billions Wall Street poured into it, Old Europe remains a seething cauldron of revolution; its capitalist rulers, defeated and demoralized. Its revolutionary proletarians are unbending in their determination to bring into being a communist society. In Asia, in the Near East and Africa, the tides of revolution continue to mount ending forever the colonial rule of the white imperialist masters.

It is to break up this indomitable trend towards socialist emancipation, to safeguard their wealth and profit that the capitalist rulers are now plotting their greatest crime against humanity; total war. The Congress of the Fourth International branded the war as counter-revolutionary in every respect.

The Congress pointed out that this war, if the imperialists dare unleash it, will be their nemesis. From the outset it will call forth armed resistance from the workers of Europe and the peoples of Asia who will establish governments of the working peoples. Not all the destruction and barbarism of capitalism in its last moments of agony can longer prevent this solution.

The Congress was neither frightened nor confused by the fact that large sections of the revolutionary movement remain under the leadership of Stalinists and agents of the Kremlin. It did not turn away from these movements for this reason but sought closer association with them. It was supremely confident that the power of the masses is mightier than any bureaucratic apparatus, that the destruction of capitalism by the revolutionary masses will smash forever the hegemony of this treacherous clique that only arose from the past period of working class defeats.

By their understanding of the character of the epoch in which we live, by their consciousness of the responsibilities which are thus imposed on those who are determined to remake the world, the men and women who gathered in the Third World Congress of the Fourth International demonstrated that Trotskyism alone of all tendencies in the workers' movement is capable of giving consistent and effective leadership to the great social struggles impending on a world-wide scale.

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Labor Challenge Sub Campaign Great Success

The one and a half month whirlwind campaign to boost up the circulation of **LABOR CHALLENGE** was a great success. The total number of points scored was 2,116 (a point was totalled up for each copy of the paper sold, a six month subscription counting 6 points, and so on.)

The branches of the Revolutionary Workers Party, which sparked the whole drive, together with sympathizers of our anti-war paper, who gave us a hand, found a warm response everywhere. The great bulk of the total was accounted for by subscriptions, although a considerable number were gained through street sales and the coverage of such events as the Labor Day parades, as reported in the last issue.

All told well over 200 new subscribers were added to the rolls of the regular readers of **LABOR CHALLENGE**. Toronto led the way by rolling up slightly more than half the national achievement, 1,043 points—43 points over the 1,000 point objective that it had set itself. Over 500 points came in from Prairie towns such as Winnipeg and Saskatoon. Windsor scored 83 points and Vancouver totalled up 402 points.

One of the outcomes of this drive has been the decision of some of our sub-getters to put themselves on a schedule of regular Saturday afternoon door to door sub work. We gather from various letters we have received that our partisans feel that as prices continue to rise, housing gets shorter and dividends skyrocket, housewives and their husbands are becoming more and more receptive to the idea that machines should produce not for profit but for use and under the control of the working people—that's socialism and that is what **Labor Challenge** is out for. More power to your elbows **Labor Challenge** sub-getters and thanks 2,116 times.

Windsor Readers

Contact
LABOR CHALLENGE,
Box 25, Windsor, Ont.

Vancouver Study Class

held
Every Sunday Afternoon,
at 3496 Quebec St.

A Progress Report on The New Canada

By BARRY BRENT

As reported previously in our press, Murray Dowson, first editor of **Labor Challenge** and the Revolutionary Workers Party candidate for mayor of Toronto in 1947, and I set out following our July national convention on a cross-country tour. The object of this tour was primarily to discuss the tasks confronting the forces of revolutionary socialism in this country in the light of the decisions arrived at by our convention.



Brent

Dowson

This most vital aspect of the national tour has proved successful beyond even our own optimistic expectations.

We can report to our friends and readers with utmost confidence that we are not lagging in our great duty and our preparations for the grim but inspiring future. We can report that the capitalist rulers and their state are not the only ones who are preparing for that future. We can report that an even intenser activity is under way by the revolutionary vanguard in this country to lead successful opposition to their police-state intentions—to frustrate them in their black designs upon the people and the progress of humanity.

We can report also that already a profound undercurrent of opposition to the capitalist war plans and all that they entail exists among broad strata of the Canadian people. Capitalism is by no means as secure as it may appear in this important Canadian section of its last stronghold—North America. Particularly is this evident in the West, with its long traditions of anti-monopolist struggle.

In Winnipeg, for example, we were amazed at the friendly reception given us, not only by rank-and-file CCFers and trade unionists, but even by certain leaders of the mass organizations. We were so overwhelmed with contacts who pressed to hear our viewpoint and buy our literature that we were unable to arrange the meetings that we had planned. Our time was taken up by this even more fruitful work. However, we have two meetings scheduled there for our return. Purely as a by-product of our activities in that

important center, we sold a score of subscriptions to our press and a host of books and pamphlets—all to activists in the labor movement confronted constantly and increasingly with the gigantic problems that it is the task of our movement to aid them help the masses resolve.

Throughout Saskatchewan, and particularly in its only industrial center—Saskatoon—the situation is similarly inspiring. Activists in all the mass organizations, from the deeply-entrenched but ostensibly non-political co-ops on up, were eager to meet and discuss with us. We felt the powerful wave of enthusiasm over the rank-and-file triumphs at the recent CCF convention, reported in the last issue of **LABOR CHALLENGE**. The Coldwell line was sharply rebuffed, and that did wonders for the atmosphere. We both felt that our profitable stay there was much too short. But time and tide—the cash to tide us over that is—urged us on.

While Alberta is comparatively passive from a political point of view, B.C., as we had expected, has proven the most fruitful territory of all. That rugged province seems to produce a mass of rugged people who will not be slapped around by this system without the most determined opposition. Many of them now feel or are beginning to feel that the more determined the opposition the better. Already, besides discussing with scores of people—the great mass of the CCF out here, as you know, is labelled Trotskyist by the Coldwell crowd—we have a debate scheduled for October 7 with Rod Young and Harold Mason of the Stanley Park club on the war question, another debate with the Social Science group, and a strong possibility of speaking over the air on the Town Meeting program.

One point to wind up this report; we have come to understand more profoundly than ever through this trip, the truth of Lenin's dictum that the revolutionary press is our best organizer. That we are a force in Canada already in a position of influence in the mass movements, that we have met such a warm response across the country from so many others besides those who are now convinced Trotskyists, is attributable in large measure to the constant job of our press in analyzing and providing answers for the problems of the people with the tools of Marxism, forged and tempered through the vast experiences of the world working class for generations. A salute to **LABOR CHALLENGE**—may its clear voice continue to grow louder as the drums of war and chaos reach crescendo!

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Revolutionary Workers Party

Canadian Section, 4th International

(98) November 1951

11-01-1a

YOU ASKED FOR IT AND

A few weeks ago over the radio you asked that I and my friends should write to you if we "believe that prices are being held up by practices which seem to be contrary to the combines law." You put a rider on it that we should write to you if we "think you can be of any help." That's quite a rider, Mr. Garson. I don't think any of you and your cronies, bench warming down there in Ottawa, can be of any help at all to us working stiff—other than to get your hands off our throats.

You know damn well what kind of help the people want. We want a little respite from the beating that the profit-mad monopolists who have got this country in their grip have been giving us, and the barrage of taxes that you have been throwing our way. You are a time-server in a party that has been in power for the past two decades and has done nothing that should make any workingman believe that "you can be of any help."

As for this letter proposition. What a laugh! It was that collection of high powered film flam artists called the cabinet, and particularly you, Mr. Garson, as Minister of Justice, that only a little more than a year ago was caught red-handed suppressing a letter—a letter written to you by your own Combines Act Investigator McGregor. Remember that letter! It told how the flour milling trusts, in collusion with your prices board, took the Canadian people for plenty. Although the law required its publication within 15 days of submission, that letter saw the light of day ten months later and then only because McGregor resigned and the CCF M.P.'s put the heat on you. So you can't blame anyone like me for being convinced that his letter will only be filed in a waste basket.

But I'm writing you this letter anyway. Maybe it's just to blow off some steam. And let me tell you I form a head of steam plenty these days. For instance, whenever I read a report of a speech made by you or Mr. Abbott calling for more work and increased production, whenever I feel the squeeze the boss is putting on the line, and then think about the thousands of my union buddies who are walking the streets, without jobs. You've got a lot of nerve appealing to me to work harder because of what you call a national emergency when, according to your own National Advisory Council, there is about a 40 per cent increase in unemployment in Toronto alone over the last year figure and it's growing, according to Mr. Noseworthy, at the rate of 2,000 a week.

And boy, do I boil when I hear your smart boys explain away the price spirals which are causing so much worry to my wife with this talk about "too many dollars chasing too few goods." Why your own statisticians tell us that month by month goods are piling higher on the shelves,

at the end of August reaching a record $3\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars worth of raw materials and finished goods; that department store sales are averaging about 20 per cent below last year, and that this pile-up of goods in not just kids' shoes, suits, and dresses, but construction materials that could be used for houses.

I've never read your combines law and I doubt if I ever will—I gave up reading fairy tales long ago, so I don't rightly know whether what's happening to prices is contrary, or as you put it, "seem to be" contrary to it. I know this though—what is happening to prices is contrary to the interests, to the elementary health and welfare of 99.999 per cent of the population of this country and in the interests only of the 50 Big Shots who rule it and their hangers-on.

You give us to believe that the combines law is framed to prevent restraint of trade, to prevent or at least impeded the growth of combines, cartels, monopolies—a regular trust busting device in fact. Now I doubt that the law is in any way responsible, but the facts are that since its framing the monopolization of this country, with its inevitable price gouging, has zipped forward like a bat out of hell.

Why in the last month two of the biggest lumber outfits in the country have merged to form MacMillan & Bloedel Ltd., second only in this field to the monstrous Weyerhaeuser empire in the U.S. Pacific Coast. Your government cleared this merger. E. P. Taylor's Canadian Breweries has extended itself into Quebec by taking over Frontenac Breweries. The CPR's Consolidated Mining and Smelting, as part of its \$64 million expansion program, has gobbled up three Coleman, Alberta coal mines, forming them into one of the major coal producers in Western Canada.

I don't think you are fooling so many, Mr. Garson, with those phoney investigations and enquiries into the rubber, optical and plate glass industries. You were on the spot with Western Bakeries and Eddy Match and you couldn't get off it. Their secret deals, their price gouging, price fixing, squeezing competitors to the wall, stank to high heaven. A fine of \$10,000! You don't think that that is much of a discouragement to a bunch of cut-throats that made millions—all the government is doing is saving face or, as one wit commented, cutting itself in on the big hold-up deals.

It's all a put-up job, Mr. Garson, and you know it as well as I do. Yes! as you say "Canada's combines investigators have never been buster," never busier attempting to divert attention from the hog-wild profiteering of the trusts and the dizzy soaring cost of living index.

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LABOR CHALLENGE

(98) Nov. 1951

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HERE IT IS

Remember when your colleague, Mr. Howe, at a time when the index stood at 179.7, predicted it wouldn't go another half point higher . . . and now as inaccurately as it reflects the real rise in cost of living it stands at 190.4. And there is not even so much as a hint from anyone of you that it will stop there.

As for profits, as the beer ads put it, there truly are horizons unlimited in this country—for trustards. As each month goes by dividend payments set new records, with the first eleven months' cumulative total reaching \$425 million—more than 16 per cent above last year's.

Your proposal to introduce legislation against retail price-fixing at this session of the gas-house in Ottawa was from the start just a cover-up job for the profiteers. You know that the people are becoming increasingly anxious that something should be done about the price squeeze and you dreamed this one up quickly. You had to appoint the McQuarrie Committee by an order in council, and you didn't even have time to put some legislation before the house.

As for the proposal itself; you know better than anyone else that, even if you wanted to, you couldn't enforce a law that attempted to prevent manufacturers from fixing retail prices. You know that the big boys can always find reasons, perfectly on the up-and-up, to not supply goods to "unco-operative" retailers. You know damn well that nearly all the big manufacturers control their own marketing outlets and would be completely unaffected by your little proposition.

A miserable little proposition, but you couldn't even stand up for that. A mere gesture, a little resolution passed by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce urging delay and you, Mr. Garson, scurry to have the matter referred to a committee which completely removes it from the business of the house for this session at least, if not for all time.

It must be getting obvious to ever-increasing circles of the Canadian people that you gentlemen intend to do absolutely nothing about prices . . . and by the same token that we ourselves will have to take the matter into our own hands.

That's O.K. with me. We have our mighty unions, and our co-ops and you give us no alternative but to use them. I am looking forward to the day when the people will control prices through their own committees, committees composed of housewives, union representatives, poor farmers and small shopkeepers that will police the stores, open up the books and expose your machinations. And the time to start is now.

THE PRESS OF THE LPP

By ROSS DOWSON

The Toronto CCL-CIO council has just passed a resolution condemning the Toronto Star for "unbalanced coverage, giving one political party (Liberal) and its leader as much as 20 times as much space as other parties, suppression of news and views unfavorable to its political friends, and headline distortion."

Yet it was with considerable truth that Toronto Labor Council PAC chairman Eamon Park could heap his most effective ridicule on that Big Business mouthpiece, the Toronto Star, by comparing it to the Canadian Tribune. The Star's coverage of the CCF election campaign he said is "comparable to coverage by the Tribune of a Canadian Congress of Labor convention when only the party liners were reported."

The Canadian Tribune and its West Coast edition, The Pacific Tribune, published by the Labor Progressive Party of Tim Buck, claim to be the voice of the peace camp, to be the spokesmen of militant trade unionism, to be the Marxist-Leninist press in this country.

What truth is there in any one of these claims?

Well here is Stewart Smith writing in the Canadian Tribune of July 17, 1950: "I was speaking (July 7) at about 12:40 p.m. at Camden and Spadina to about four hundred garment workers. We have held meetings there every Friday for the past eight weeks . . ." A report of the same incident as it appeared in the Pacific Tribune July 14, 1950, reads: "At least 1,000 citizens witnessed a squad car seize ex-Controller Stewart Smith after he had addressed a meeting at Camden and Spadina on the subject 'Stop the War from Spreading.' The meeting was the eighth in a series . . ."

We don't know how many were at this meeting that the police outrageously suppressed but as the TRIBUNE got further from the actual scene, the crowd grew from "about 400" to "at least 1,000 citizens." And this fabrication can be written off as "poetic license" when you compare it to the liberties that TRIBUNE writers take with fact when writing for papers that do not circulate in this country to any extent.

Tim Buck, whose by-line appears in almost every issue of the Tribune wrote this in the May 12, 1950, issue of the Cominform's For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy: "The dominant monopoly oligarchy in Canada aims to integrate every aspect of the political and economic life in the war plans of U.S. imperialism. That aim was, in fact, the real reason for the change of Prime Ministers from Mackenzie King to the leader of the present government Mr. Louis St. Laurent, a proven servant of finance capital and an open advocate of close co-operation with the U.S."

Do you get the picture, one that every Canadian school boy knows to be false? That King was less a proven servant of finance capital and less an advocate of the very policies he was renowned for and was therefore booted out by St. Laurent, the very man that he personally so carefully groomed for his job and steered into it only a matter of months before his death.

John Boyd, formerly of the Tribune staff, still a frequent contributor as editor of the Stalinist-liner Ukrainian News, while he was on a tour of Eastern Europe, pulled the same job off in an article that appeared in the Voice of the Coast, a Danzig Polish paper of November 27, 1950, under his by-line. The article read: "A fortnight ago the Slav Committee including all Progressive Slav elements organized in its own premises in Toronto, a theatrical performance for children. A Bandera group (members of the Galician division of Ukrainians, a few of whom have recently come to Canada as immigrants) attempted to frustrate the performance. When an attempt was made to remove the uninvited guests they threw two grenades on the stage. The explosion killed two children and seriously wounded 12 persons from the audience." Even according to the Tribune the facts of this atrocity at the Farmer Labor Temple are that the bomb was planted on an outside window ledge and no one was killed.

This practice of the "further you get from the scene the more free with the facts" is common practice with capitalist correspondents. Another journalistic practice devised by these prostitutes of the pen is

innuendo, a technique practiced on the grand scale by smut rags such as FLASH and JUSTICE. The TRIBUNE quite often demonstrates that it can run circles around those odorous sheets.

In its August 20, 1951 issue it carried a classic example of gutter journalism . . . an unprincipled attack on labor's candidate for the Toronto Board of Control. It goes like this: "In CCF circles there is open discussion of the fact that Ford Brand was approached indirectly to take a seat on the Transportation Commission on condition he remain silent about the fare increase. It is also reported that Brand was associated with the resolution of the CCF youth approving the fare boost and attempting to justify it. . . . It is also a City Hall corridor 'open secret' that the Star campaigned for Brand only on condition that he 'keep quiet about the TTC issue.' . . . Many labor men are pointing out . . . Among printers it is widely argued that Brand . . ." and so on . . . (My emphasis, R.D.)

TRIBUNE writers are highly schooled in the fine art of slander. They are firm believers in the technique of the big lie, as practiced by the Hitlerite press. The bigger the lie the better, they think some of it will stick if it is repeated enough.

This technique is perhaps most consistently used against Trotskyism, a term with which they encompass anyone and everyone from renegades such as Koestler, Burnham and Max Eastman to leaders of the CCF left and the parties of the Fourth International. The latter, the Marxists of our epoch, the real Trotskyists, are never quoted in the pages of the Tribune, no proof is ever offered to sustain the monstrous campaign of abuse levelled at them.

An unsigned letter to the editor appears in the Tribune alleging that Bay Street's policy advisor Gladstone Murray was seen coming out of the headquarters of the Revolutionary Workers' Party arm in arm laughing and chatting as good friends do with the party's national secretary. When a retraction is demanded the editors allege that the letters from both parties bore the same post mark—clever, isn't it—see, they are in cahoots.

The Trotskyists who have vigor-

ously defended the civil rights of the Stalinists and have battled against such racist and lynch mob demonstrations as Peekskill and Cicero are labelled by the editor of the Pacific Tribune in his June 9, 1950, column "the cold-war platoon of Yankee reaction." The proof this time is the allegation that the Trotskyists "issued thousands of forged postcards to American and Canadian citizens, advertising the Peace Arch Youth Rally as a gathering of American and Canadian communists, hoping 'hereby to provoke violence as at Peekskill, N.J. . . .'"

When the leader of the Belgian Communist Party was assassinated the August 28, 1950 Tribune laid it at the door of Trotskyists—"dregs of society — Trotskyists, Titoists" lumped together with "Nazis and criminal elements." No proof, nothing but the shrieking charge—assassins!

The capitalist press consistently foments and tries to sustain already implanted nationalistic chauvinist prejudices and race prejudices in the people. Sometimes the campaign takes on the form of condemning a whole nation, worker and boss, as war-loving, sadistic brutes (Japan). At other times it takes on the form of slyly mentioning the race of a rapist, arsonist or murderer. The purpose of this campaign is to divide and soften up the people to acceptance of their policies.

Instead of standing athwart this campaign and fighting against nationalist, racist prejudices the Tribune sometimes works on such prejudices for its own purposes. During the war years the Tribunes not only condoned but were in the forefront of the anti-Japanese hysteria whipped up on the West Coast. Today, Tribune opposition to the Japanese treaty has strong anti-Japanese overtones. They seek to capitalize on the chauvinistic hatred of Japan as a nation when they say in article after article that the treaty revives the menace of Japanese imperialism which has been, in fact, rendered impotent and is an American occupied area.

Their opposition to the worldwide reactionary role of U.S. capitalism takes on the same nationalist character. It is common knowledge that U.S. troops in Korea, unlike Canadian, are draftees and

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that they have voiced in many ways their opposition and horror of the role they have been cast in by Wall Street and U.S. top brass. Put a large photo of a Korean child, horribly wounded, seated in the ruins of what had been his home, appeared on the front page of the May 14, 1951 Tribune with the caption: A Yankee Mercenary did this."

Its pages are full of atrocity stories. The bulk of them like those in the April 9 and January 1 issues are directed not against Wall Street and its UN-masked allies, not against world capitalism, but against the American workers in uniform upon whom it slaps the label "butchers."

The Tribune is super patriotic, the true defender of "our national sovereignty and independence" of "our outraged national pride." Red baiting, racism, anti-labor policies and ideas, even "boom bust economy, stock market crashes and factory closing downs" are products of the Yanks. According to the Tribune everything rotten and corrupt in Canadian society is spawned in the U.S. Canadian reactionaries, no matter how vicious, are always outdone and goaded into action by the Yankee force of evil.

With a straight face, in this the second decade of the Padlock law—the Tribune Ottawa correspondent writes in the May 7 issue that "We now have evidence that Duplessis is taking his orders directly from Washington instead of from the people who elected him."

A full page article in September 24, 1951 issue is headed "Yanks Invade Canadian Campus," with a lead in bold type "The Yanks are infiltrating the Canadian campus in an effort to take Canadian students off the highroad of peace and friendship . . ." The Yank invasion turns out to be a lone U.S. fraternal delegate to a youth conference, "who emerged as the leader of a group . . ." according to the Tribune, a group of Canadian students!

Just as the TRIBUNES scarcely mention the other America, the America of 1776; of the Civil War; the America of the CIO and its tremendous progressive influence upon Canada, they scarcely mention the Germany that fathered the world socialist movement, the Ger-

many of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, of the anti-fascists who died in concentration camps, of co-determination. TRIBUNE columns are lurid with the flames of anti-German chauvinism, with hate-the-Hun propaganda.

May 11, 1951 Pacific Tribune carried an item, by one of its staff writers Bert Whyte, of World War II reminiscences; "The first (dead German) was a real joker. There he was looking funny as hell, sitting on his rump trying to wind a bandage around his wounded leg—with his head blown clean off. . . . The second Jerry was more of a problem. . . ."

There is a saying that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel. Well, here is the Tribune of June 12, 1950. It appeals for support to the candidature of Harry Binder in a super-patriotic column calling upon Canadians to do "all honour to Canada's fallen heroes! Let the living remember them with fierce patriotic pride! Let no man besmirch their memory: Let no man betray them!" By voting and electing Harry Binder "patriot" . . . "Cartier workers will be honouring our heroes of Normandy's beaches."

Another technique that is hard worked by the Big Business press to discredit opponents of their policies and their class is the half quote, the broken quote and the inserted photograph. By this method, without actual fabrication, it can be implied that a person said just the opposite to what he did say.

The Tribune has mastered this technique also. Take the November 7, 1949 issue. A double spread is devoted to the printing of excerpts from that eye witness report, Ten Days That Shook the World by John Reed, the story of the Russian Revolution, the most progressive event in this epoch. The excerpts, according to the editor, were "selected to indicate the temper of the people and their leaders." None of the excerpts mention Stalin. It couldn't be otherwise as his name appears only once in the book, one of many in a long list of commissars. To inject Stalin, to sustain the Lenin equals Stalin myth, a 10 x 6 inch drawing of Stalin seated in discussion with Lenin tops the article. With that the Tribune goes to town. The deletions are editorial

deletions. What is left gives a completely different picture of the revolution from that given by the book. There is no revolutionary action, only talk and maneuver in the Soviet. Only Lenin appears, Trotsky, all the rest of the revolutionary leadership whom Stalin framed and murdered are gouged out of the picture. The anti-war program, the internationalism of the Bolsheviks is purged. The excerpts straddle and dodge a mass of material that flies in the face of the Tribune-promoted theory of socialism in one country and of peaceful co-existence.

Do you want to know what is going on in the Canadian labor movement, to know what tendencies are developing and are at work in the minds of the Canadian people? If you read only the TRIBUNE you would have the most incredible picture of the mind of this country.

Probably you didn't know it but according to Charles Sims in August 27 issue "British Columbia is aflame with opposition to the U.S. treaty proposal . . ." with Japan.

Remember in 1948 when the Stalinist leadership of the West Coast woodworkers snatched the 'WA treasury, attempted to smash the organization and set up their own outfit, the WIUC? If you followed the Tribunes for the next 8 months the WIUC was moving from victory to victory and the 'WA was melting away, then suddenly the WIUC was no longer there, its scattered handsful wiggling back into the IWA.

According to the Tribune there are really only three or four unions in this country today that are worthy of being called trade unions—the Stalinist-led Mine Mill, Fur and Leather, the UE and the West Coast Fishermen's Union. If talk could make it so these unions are leading the way for Canadian labor, scoring increases, gaining conditions that no other union even approaches.

Millard's militant speech that Steel would pull all its membership out of Timmins and settle them, get them jobs in its organized towns if Hollinger gold bosses didn't come to terms, a speech that roused the wrath of the capitalist press, the Tribune smeared as "running away from a fight." It joined the howl of the boss press

against Steel's stand for the check-off. The July 23 Tribune noted "one of the disquieting features of the present strike is the stress the Steel union leadership, along with the company, is placing on the demand for a higher price for gold." The Pacific Tribune exactly four months earlier gave a favorable report of a Mine Mill delegation headed by party liner Harvey Murphy asking the B.C. legislature to go on record as favoring the Canadian mining interests being allowed to sell "40 per cent of its gold on the world's premium market."

Today the Tribune presents itself as the voice of peace, on occasion carrying Christian pacifist editorials. It carries powerful articles relating the horrors of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, it pleads on every page for the banning of the A-Bomb, for disarmament. Stewart Smith in his August 21, 1950 column on civic affairs rips into Controller Balfour for daring to advocate the bombing of Moscow. Balfour, he remarked, "was proposing to repeat the greatest civilian atrocity ever committed in war," the bombing of Hiroshima. Smith suggests that "any person who advocates such a bestial thing should be removed from office by the good people of Toronto."

But that wasn't always the line of Smith and the TRIBUNE. When the whole world stood aghast at the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki the August 18, 1945 TRIBUNE hailed it as an occasion of "universal rejoicing in Canada." It bore the screeching headline:

USSR, ATOM BOMB KO JAPAN WARLORDS

It even tried to muscle in on the "glory" of the manufacture of the A-Bomb which it stated "climaxed decades of research, in which the French scientists and Communists, J. J. Curie and Paul Langevin pioneered."

The Tribune claims to be the voice of the forces opposing conscription. The March 26, 1951 issue reports a speech by Winnipeg LPP organizer M. J. Sago on the Canadian anti-conscription tradition. The reported speech deals only with the anti-conscription struggles during World War I. What about World War II when the resistance of the Canadian people was such

CDN & PACIFIC TRIBUNE

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that King was only able to enforce overseas service conscription when the war was in its dying days. Sago, or at least the Tribune, says not a word. No wonder, for then the Tribune was leading the pack of conscription howlers with Buck touring the country pleading for the Yes vote in the conscription plebiscite.

The TRIBUNE now writes vigorous articles opposing the military budget, increased taxation, speed-up in the shops, and all the effects of a war economy. But it wasn't so during World War II which paved the way for the war now in preparation. Looking back Buck boasted in March, 1946 that "It was the Communists (Stalinists, R.D.) who won the labor movement for labor-management co-operation during the war, who first proposed the no-strike pledge. It was the Communists who led the struggle to unite all sections in support of conscription."

In the June 23, 1950 issue, the editors of the Pacific Tribune ridicule General A. G. L. McNaughton as an incompetent soldier, a phoney scientist, and attack him as a warmonger.

But the Tribune wasn't always this way with McNaughton. In February of 1945 it gave its all to the same McNaughton against a CCFer in the North-Grey by-election. Many of its scribes lent their names and pictures for a full-page ad appearing in the Ontario press published by authority of the North Grey Liberal Association.

This whole period in its variegated life and times, the Tribune would like for now, to bury 10 miles deep. The Tribune is now hard put to explain its support of Bay Street's Liberal Party during and immediately after the war. On May 16, 1949 Buck, in the pages of the Tribune, had the audacity to brazenly deny that the LPP advocated "the election of the Liberal government in the last election or any other."

The boss press floods the country with a mixture of data and tales of the monstrous crimes of the Kremlin oligarchy against the Soviet peoples. It is strangely silent on the why of the rise of the Soviet Union from the morass of feudalistic Czarism to a front-rank world power—the result of the so-

cialist revolution of November, 1917. It spreads a great lie—the greatest lie levelled against the socialist and labor movement—that the bureaucratic veneer that has imposed itself on the Soviet Union, that this one aspect of Soviet life—is socialism—is what you inescapably get when you do away with capitalist anarchy. Socialism, according to the hirelings of the boss press, results in NKVD, purges, concentration camps, regimentation of the arts, science.

One of the great crimes of the Canadian and Pacific Tribunes is their sustaining of this idea in the face of the known facts about life in the USSR under the Kremlin oligarchy. One of the chief tasks of all Tribune scribes is the white-washing of all of the monstrous crimes of the Kremlin bureaucracy. The March 13, 1950 Tribune heads an article on the one-party, one-candidate election farces in the USSR "The Most Democratic Electoral System in the World."

Far from preparing the masses for the defence of the nationalized property relations, the planned economy achieved by the revolution, the Tribune brings into discredit the very aim of the socialist revolution itself, making suspect in the eyes of honest workers even the correct ideas with which it may attempt to identify itself from time to time.

After the above it would be ideal in our opinion to take up in any detailed way the TRIBUNE claim that it is the paper of Marxism-Leninism. The TRIBUNE is a paper of liars and lies, of intrigues, calumniators. It is the syphilis of the labor press. Marxism is based on an unswerving adherence to the truth, on faith in reason and in human solidarity.

The Marxist press in this country is Labor Challenge. It is the heir and continuator of all that is great and inspiring in the history of mankind's struggles. It is dedicated to the struggle to which it is dedicated that the shackling forces of imperialist capitalism will be broken and man move forward towards the realm of reason and intelligence—socialism.

That is why LABOR CHALLENGE is completely worthy of whatever sacrifice is necessary on your part to help it reach its sustaining fund objective of \$1,500.

Lesson From Ontario

If the problems confronting the people of Ontario could be solved by promises, then they will be well on the way towards solution, starting November 22nd, election day.

Bombastic Liberal leader Walter Thomson, aided by the *Toronto Star*, set the battle of promises off at a dizzy pace.

The Tories in desperation over the Liberal demagoguery have matched these promises almost promise for promise.

Where does all this leave labor's party, the CCF? Joliffe, other leading spokesman of the party, and official party literature, all make the point that they are only promises; the Liberals were in office from 1934-43, the Tories were in office from 1943 on, yet both parties consistently voted down CCF proposals to implement a great many of the very projects now so freely promised. They also make the point that unlike the Liberals and Tories the CCF is not a party of promises but a party that will get results.

But all this is hardly sufficient to meet the situation. It's unfortunate but to the majority of the population the CCF is still a party of promises with at best only a limited performance in Saskatchewan. When you get down to it these arguments put the CCF in the same position as all the old parties that the workers have been long familiar with when they are out of office—advancing the classic argument of "you can trust me and not my opponent."

The fact of the matter is that the CCF, on the basis of the official campaign, has been robbed. It has been robbed of its program. For a political party a disaster of major proportions.

What kind of program is it that the parties of the bosses can take it over holus-bolus? And what kind of a program is it that its champions should be indignant that someone else should stand on its main planks?

Obviously it cannot be a program of any fundamentally distinctive character, a program expressing in any clear way the needs and aspirations of any particular class such as the working class. If it were, neither the Liberals nor Tories would touch it, not to speak of take it over in its entirety, with a ten-foot pole.

The official Ontario CCF program in this election is only a mish-mash of parliamentary liberal reform. It is a program of political expediency, a program designed to get votes. And one which the boss parties, without crossing the class line, have proven able to match in order to achieve the same purpose.

This formula of *how to win friends and influence people* cooked up by the Coldwell leadership at the 1950 National Convention, has blown up in the Ontario section's face. Based on Coldwell's credo that the class struggle does not exist, this program has proven to a considerable degree to have robbed the Ontario CCF of its reason to campaign in this election.

Along this path of liberal reform lies the demoralization and disintegration of the CCF. The future of the CCF lies in the development of a program of a fundamentally different character—one based on recognition of the class struggle and leading towards a socialist resolution of it.

In the realm of international affairs Saskatchewan's CCF Premier Douglas has pointed the way by his challenge to the boss parties that his government is prepared to fight the coming provincial election on the Saskatchewan section's opposition to Canadian participation in the suppression of the colonial peoples' freedom struggles. On the national front the CCF must adopt a program of transitional demands, a program based on the immediate needs of the people leading them forward, preparing them for the task of replacing the old capitalist order with the new world order of socialism.

Taxes and Escalators

Over 120,000 unionists are covered by agreements that include escalator clauses. Their wages are geared to the cost of living through the government index. Possibly as many again are directly effected by the escalator idea either because they are employed in an industry such as auto where the GM agreement sets the pace or because they receive some form of cost of living bonus.

In the past year the index has skyrocketed some 20 odd points to hit 190.4, resulting in automatic increases to these workers of 15 to 16 cents an hour. Their take-home pay has risen in terms of dollars so that the inflationary price rises in goods and services hasn't pushed them out of the market. But despite the proven value of the escalator clause these workers have not had the real protection that they need.

One of the weaknesses of these escalator agreements is that many of them are tied to long term contracts preventing establishment of higher base pays or improvement of shop conditions. But their biggest weakness is that the automatic wage increases are determined by the government cost of living index.

Both of the trade union congresses, both the CCL and the TLC, have repeatedly challenged the validity of the government index as not accurately reflecting the true state of affairs. To answer these protests the government has undertaken to present a new index at the beginning of next year.

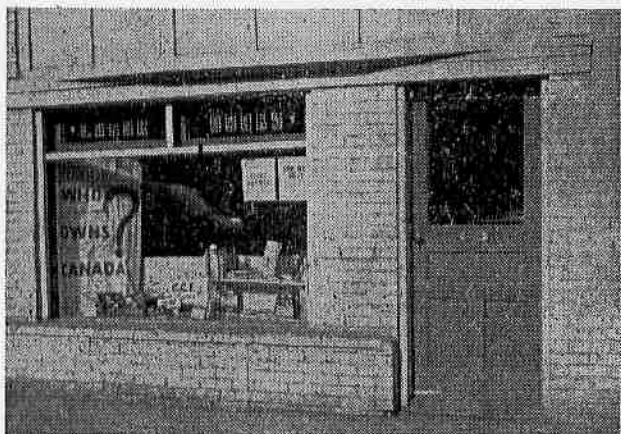
The present index is certainly a spurious one, rigged against the wage earner. Aside from numerous other faults the most important is that taxes are not included in it. Yet taxes, federal, provincial and municipal, bite huge chunks off take-home pay. Current tax deductions and the threat of still higher taxes unless compensated by increased wages can result in a drastic cut in real wages with its inevitable lowering of living standards.

The power of taxation is being used by Bay Street's agents in Ottawa to cut the heart out of the escalator clauses.

Labor should have its own index upon which to base its escalator agreements, an index taking into account taxes which are paid out of wages and are becoming an ever increasing part of the wage earner's cost of living. Right now, to meet the emergency, a campaign should be launched to force the government to include taxes in the new cost of living index that it is preparing.

11-01-3

LABOR BOOKSTORE OPENS IN TORONTO



By PAUL KANE

Have you been wondering what to read, what to pass onto your shop mate, or where you could get a book that you have heard is a good one but can't find in the run-of-the-mill bookstore? Well! you can limit the field of your search, from now on. A great many of the best and most interesting hard-covered and paper-covered books, fiction and non-fiction, have been gathered together in one spot at 62½ Elm Street in Toronto . . . at the Toronto Labor Bookstore.

I dropped in there the other day—it's just two streets north up Bay from the Dundas intersection. And what a treasure house. Pocket books? They've got the pick of them. I saw *Grapes of Wrath* by Steinbeck, *Scottsboro Boy*, Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, Tawney's *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, and dozens of others. Liam O'Flaherty's new novel *Insurrection*—probably your remembrance *The Informer*—on the Irish Easter Rebellion of 1916 was on the shelves with Victor Serge's *The Case of Comrade Tulayev*. The latter, a novel of modern Russia, I have read and can highly recommend.

The two pamphlets put out by the British Labor Party Bevan group—*One Way Only* and *Going Our Way*, along with *Letters From Korea*—a collection written by a Labor Party activist who opposed the Korean war and lost his life in it—are there from England. There was a biography of Robert Blatchford, the pioneer British socialist, by Lawrence Thompson which will bear looking into, I think.

Both the Saskatchewan and British Columbia CCF papers were in

racks and the speech by Saskatchewan's Premier Douglas, *Bread or Bombs*, was in the window along with a lavish display of *Who Owns Canada*.

All the basic writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky were on hand. I found particularly interesting the display of material on war and how to fight it. It included two pamphlets by Lenin, *War and the Second International* and *War and the Workers*, The Zimmerwald Manifesto, J. P. Cannon's *The Road To Peace*, the 1946 Manifesto of the Fourth International and the famous Minneapolis Trial pamphlets—court recordings of the trial of the 18 leaders of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party for their opposition to World War II.

It was good to see the face of that great and inspiring working class leader, Gene Debs, on a couple of books in the store. Ray Ginger's *Biography of Debs* and the collection of Debs' famous speeches and writings should be in everyone's library, along with Leon's book on *The Jewish Question*.

I noted Darwin's writings, along with some of Freud's and Einstein's. As a matter of fact from a casual look around it seems to me that much of the best in all domains of human thought has been gathered together at 62½ Elm.

The fellow on hand tells me that this isn't just to be a break for Toronto, but with the aid of the mail, for all thinking people across the country. The Toronto Labor Bookstore will get any book still in print on request and hopes to build up an extensive out-of-town service.

THE CHALLENGE DRIVE NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT

As we move into the third quarter, *Labor Challenge* boosters are dropping a little behind. So far \$851.50 has come in in cheques and money orders to build a financial base under the voice of revolutionary socialism.

We know all *Labor Challenge* readers want the truth and the truth is that that goodly sum of money that we have scraped together isn't good enough at this stage of the game to assure us that we will attain our objective. Our objective is \$1,500 by December the 1st and we don't want to play any overtime.

The old-timers, the old stand-bys of the socialist press in this country, like Harry Noakes of *Magna Bay*, B.C., and Jim Seward of *Wiseton*, Saskatchewan, have come through again. These tried and true veterans have always been dependable. Regardless of the difficulties they always kick through. They've been doing it for years and they are going to keep on doing it until *Labor Challenge* achieves its great aim—socialism.

NEW BLOOD NEEDED

Perhaps some of us have been taking too much for granted and we haven't measured up to our responsibilities. At any rate to come out on top and on time our team needs reinforcements. Particularly with our higher objective do we need some new blood on the team.

Toronto has turned in \$358 but our boosters there have much bigger ideas than that and to realize them they and our Vancouver partisans, who are also conducting an extensive campaign, need your help.

Just as *Labor Challenge* never evades a battle, it expects from its friends and sympathizers that they will meet this challenge to aid it carry on its important work. We have till December 1st to make the objective. Every contribution adds up. Yours may be the one that will settle accounts with the opposition of printing, mailing and administrative costs and give us the free rein we need to most effectively take on the capitalist opponents of the workers. Send your contribution in now to *Labor Challenge*, 62½ Elm Street, Toronto 2.

Van. CCF Club And the Challenge Talk Things Over

Vancouver, October 12.—A discussion held here Sunday, October 7, under the auspices of the Stanley Park club of the CCF, attracted considerable interest among left-wing CCFers in this city. Before an audience of over 40, Murray Dowson and Barry Brent, currently on a national tour for *Labor Challenge*, together with Rod Young and Harold Mason, well known CCF activists, discussed the topic "Steps to a Solution of the War Crisis."

While all the speakers emphasized that capitalism was the cause of war and war can only be finally abolished with the destruction of the capitalist system, serious inconsistencies arose in the positions taken by comrades Young and Mason. They urged, for example, the support of a so-called "Third Force" as a means of anti-war struggle; and many members of the audience were somewhat surprised to learn that this "Third Force" was composed of Nehru and the then Labor Government in Britain, both of which support the UN-cloaked imperialist "police action" in Korea.

Regarding Korea itself and the whole colonial revolution now shaking the basic ramparts of imperialism, both Young and Mason urged a "neutralist" position, Young in particular claiming that a socialist revolution in a backward country must inevitably degenerate and should therefore be avoided. Brent and Dowson answered this by pointing out that the degeneration of the Russian Revolution was brought about by the failure of the revolution to spread after World War I, and the resulting capitalist encirclement. They emphasized that the colonial revolutions in helping to break this encirclement would, far from leading to further degeneration of the world labor and colonial movement, aid in reviving the Russian Revolution and, by weakening imperialism, quicken the tempo of the radicalization of the Western proletariat who are destined to vanquish this bloody, outlived system in its last strongholds.

The meeting proved to all present the possibility and necessity for comradely exchange of ideas within the socialist movement.

CCF DEBACLE IN ONT. WHAT'S TO BE DONE

By PAUL KANE

The CCF took a beating in the November 22nd Ontario elections. The idea that labor should generalize the fight that it is waging against individual bosses and fight them organized as a class in government took a beating.

The CCL-PAC's Action, distributed in hundreds of thousands of copies to factory workers in this key industrial province, speculated that "With stepped-up labor backing, the CCF is on the comeback trail and confident of retaking all it had and breaking fresh ground. . . . Victory in 46 ridings is needed to give any party a clear majority. Jolliffe says the CCF has a 'fine fighting chance to take 54.'" But when the votes were counted the CCF ended up with two seats—19 less than it previously held.

The CCF dropped 140,000 votes, from 27 per cent of the poll in 1948 to 19 per cent. In the two seats that it held; in Ontario riding where Tommy Thomas defeated Liberal leader Thomson the CCF vote remained almost stationary, in Cochrane South it dropped almost 4,500. In Windsor and Hamilton, with strong candidates (42 of the 70 odd candidates were trade unionists) backed up by the mighty UAW and the United Steelworkers locals, it was the same story; the CCF vote dropped precipitously.

This electoral debacle should be the cause of a lot of serious thinking in the ranks of the workers of this country. There is no basis for pessimism or defeatism. This election was only an episode, a skirmish in the war which is certain to end in the victory of labor over capital, in the victory of socialism. In fact if the results are examined honestly and everything thought through clearly to the end this defeat can have a salutary effect on the labor movement. It can lay the basis for further victories, victories of a solid enduring character which will strengthen the working class and lead it forward in its struggle for a better society.

What happened? The official organ of the Ontario CCF, the December 1951 CCF NEWS, gives us

all the information necessary to unravel the problem.

Only in four seats did the Tories, who swept the province, substantially increase their vote to beat the CCF. The Liberals, now the official opposition, despite their high powered, demagogic campaign, increased their vote province-wide by only 13,000. In the eight Toronto seats that the Tories took from the CCF their vote dropped 2,393. The News points out that "The Tory vote was up only 14,221 votes in the 11 Toronto and York seats they won from the CCF, an insignificant amount. What was significant — the 36,590 CCF votes that stayed at home."

With ample figures to prove it the News sums up: "It was the thousands of CCF supporters who didn't get out to vote that beat the CCF."

The CCF failed to convince any new layers of workers of the need to break from company-union politics. Worse, it failed to retain the adherence of thousands of workers who in 1948 and even as long ago as 1945 went to the polls and voted for it. Worse yet is the fact, noted in the NEWS, that hundreds of card-holders, one-time activists, didn't show their faces in the campaign headquarters.

The official explanation for this appalling situation, the News' explanation, is objective conditions. "It's hard to beat a government when money is plentiful," etc.

There is little doubt that the objective situation, the confusion and apathy that has permeated the working class of this country since the inspiring 1946 strike struggles, was the main factor behind the debacle of November 22. Objective forces beyond the CCF's control can account for a failure to break new ground, even for a certain falling away of broad support, but can they account for the extent of the falling back and the loss of

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WORKERS OF THE **Labor**

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DEC. 1951 TORONTO

"Equality of Sacrifice"

NOT FAIR TO PEEK,
OF COURSE — BUT
THIS FEELS JUST
ABOUT RIGHT!



12-01-1a

former adherents and activists as revealed by the News figures?

For a small party, with an advanced program, more or less isolated from the mass movement, the objective situation would be a decisive factor in estimating its vote and influence. But the CCF is a mass party, with extensive roots in the organizations of the Canadian people. It is a party of such strength and influence that to some degree it can enter into the situation and create a milieu favorable to itself.

The question is posed: what has the CCF done in the past few years and what did the official campaign prior to this election do to effectively intervene in the historic process, to strengthen the party and its supporters to resist the trend, to mitigate the objective situation in its favor, to inspire the people to support it?

The leadership of the CCF has not resisted the trend of events of the past period. On the contrary it has consistently attempted to adapt itself to it. It has capitulated before it. It has even jumped on the bandwagon with the very forces that have set the wave of reaction in motion.

M. J. Coldwell himself summed up the Ontario election campaign at a meeting in Oshawa on November 22. He attacked the Liberals for having "the gall to pick up" the CCF's hospital plan. The Liberals have stolen our thunder, he cried. Not just the hospital plan but the rest of the program that the Ontario leadership had gathered together was taken over holus-bolus by the Liberals and matched almost plank for plank by Frost's Progressive Conservatives.

The Ontario CCF faced the election (Continued on page 4)



M. J. COLDWELL "ASTOUNDED"

Ont. CCF —

(Continued from page 1)

torate without a program. For the uninitiated worker the CCF was indistinguishable from the two boss parties except that it had the support of the trade union leadership. For those who had been in and around the CCF, for those who pioneered the movement, the campaign could have only had a demoralizing effect.

Last spring Saskatchewan's Premier Douglas announced that he would stake the fate of the first CCF provincial government on its opposition to Canadian intervention against the colonial peoples' freedom struggles, on its opposition to the continued "manufacture of machines and destructive weapons" which "constitutes waste of energy" and "can only logically lead to war . . ." For the Ontario leadership, the war in Korea, which has cost this province the lives of scores of its citizenry and a large slice in taxation of the 182½ million dollars worth of materiel spent in it so far, was not within the province of this election but a federal matter.

The Ontario campaign had nothing to say on the nationalization of any of the trusts and monopolies that strangle the economy of this country from their Ontario headquarters. It didn't even commit itself to a policy of encouragement of the municipalization of the milk distributing interests which are ruthlessly gouging the public with price increase upon price increase.

The policy adhered to by the Ontario section of the CCF in this election was only an extension of the national leadership's policies into the provincial field . . . its policy of support of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact war alliance which it shoved on the resisting membership of the Manitoba and B.C. sections, its capitulation to and participation in the

witch hunt, its policy of demanding Canadian participation in the rape of Korea which it forced on the 1950 national convention, its repudiation of the class struggle, and its assault on the Regina Manifesto.

The Ontario election was certainly not a repudiation of socialism on the part of the electorate. It was not faced with socialism as an issue by the official campaign, far from it. But in many ways it was a repudiation of the treacherous and craven policies being followed by the national leadership of the CCF and those forces that support it in the provincial sections of the party.

The premise for the watering down and adaptation of the party's program, is that this will win wider support, will get more votes. By the Liberalization of the CCF program the Coldwell leadership and their supporters think to win sections of the middle class and layers of the working class still attached to the Liberal party of Big Business.

The Ontario election proves this policy to be bankrupt. The Liberals held and slightly increased their vote. This policy of adaptation has only led to the demoralization of that strata of the workers already won to the CCF, above all the demoralization of the party cadre.

Would a more radical program have done things for the Ontario CCF? The Saskatchewan section since and immediately prior to its August convention which sounded a rallying call of opposition to the war preparations of St. James and Bay Streets, has undergone an unprecedented growth. Many delegates to that inspiring convention remarked that Saskatchewan has recaptured the old CCF crusading spirit. Membership is at an all-time high. A few weeks before the convention the CCF scored an upset in the Gravelbourg by-election.

In the face of objective conditions, in the shaping of which the national leadership's policies have played no small role, it is questionable whether a left policy would have won more votes. But there is good reason to believe that with such a policy the CCF would have held its own, and there is no doubt that the party's cadre would not have been so demoralized.

With a program clearly expressing the true interests of the Canadian people, coming to grips with the real issues, the party itself would have experienced a revival. Whatever votes it polled would have been real gains, gains that could be worked on and could provide the CCF with new opportunities to gain influence and grow as the mounting capitalist crisis compels ever-broader layers of the population to question the nature of the capitalist system and join in the struggle for socialism.

What CCF Vote Could Have Been

On November 24, two days after the Ontario provincial elections, the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion reported a poll. The question asked was "Do you think the Dominion government should or should not own and operate the following things in this country: The CPR? Meat Packing? the Banks? Telephone services? CPR Bks. MP Tel.

Fav. . . . 35p.c. 37p.c. 30p.c. 36p.c. No opin. 12p.c. 11p.c. 13p.c. 10p.c.

This averages out to almost 35 per cent of the voting age population favoring the nationalization of key sectors of Canadian economy.

In the November 22 Ontario election no party advocated nationalization of any sector of the economy. The Tories and Liberals stand in irreconcilable opposition. The Ontario CCF, in line with the policies of the Coldwell leadership, dropped this key plank in the socialist program. It didn't even suggest that it so much as favored such a policy. The CCF polled 19 per cent of the vote. This 35 per cent properly belonged to the CCF. It and more was there for the picking up if the CCF had advanced as a policy that it favored the nationalization of all the key sectors of the economy, their operation under the control of the people, and production, not for profit, but for use.

CCF Leaders' Draft Statement Flouts Regina Manifesto & Ranks

It wasn't many months ago that CCF National Treasurer* Donald C. MacDonald felt it necessary to rush into public print with a statement denying that the 1950 National convention rejected the Regina Manifesto. On the contrary, he wrote, "it reaffirmed it."

It is true that the resolution around which a vigorous debate developed read that the convention "reaffirms its faith in the underlying principle set out in our Regina Manifesto . . ." It is true that the national leadership which sponsored the resolution talked, not in terms of dumping the Regina Manifesto but of bringing it up to date, of re-interpreting it in the light of the experiences of the 18 years that have passed by since its adoption by the party's founding convention.

But this was not the way the socialist wing of the CCF saw the 1950 resolution and the debate around it. The majority of the B.C. delegates waged a sharp struggle against this resolution. Early this summer the Nanaimo club, at the B.C. provincial convention, characterized "the main decisions" of the 1950 National convention, "in effect a complete repudiation" of the Regina Manifesto. A few months later the Saskatchewan convention felt it necessary to record its most vigorous opposition to "any change or amendment to the Regina Manifesto which might weaken it as a Canadian charter of democratic socialism . . ."

The socialist wing claimed that all the smooth talk of the national leadership was just a shield to cover up its burning anxiety to completely dump the Regina Manifesto.

And who was right? The new draft statement is now in the hands of the membership. The Ontario membership received it in the December issue of the CCF NEWS and have until not later than this January 1st to forward their criticisms, suggestions and proposed amendments.

Whatever may be said for the Regina Manifesto as a whole, time has dealt kindly with it . . . some sections of it now appear in a more favorable light than they appeared before. It opened with a clear and unequivocal statement that; "We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated . . ." It continued, "We consider that both the old parties in Canada are the instruments of capitalist interests

and cannot serve as agents of social reconstruction. . . . The CCF aims at political power in order to put an end to this capitalist domination of our political life."

In section one it called for "The establishment of a planned socialized economic order," with section three committing the CCF to the "Socialization (Dominion, Provincial or Municipal) of transportation, communications, electric power and all other industries and services essential to social planning."

While supporting the League of Nations, the manifesto warned that it is "mainly a League of capitalist Great Powers" and stated that "we believe that genuine international co-operation is incompatible with the capitalist regime which is in force in most countries. . . ."

It declared "We stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist wars . . . Canada must refuse to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism."

How does the new draft shape up in the light of the above quotes from the Regina Manifesto? We agree with the opinions of the leading CCFers appearing on this page. The new draft statement is quite the opposite of a serious and honest attempt to re-examine the Regina Manifesto in the light of the past 18 years of struggle for a socialist Canada. The new draft doesn't straighten out any of its weak points. It is a barefaced rejection of all its strong points. Nor can the new draft be patched, amended, revised or in any way reshaped to make it serve any worthy purpose. We agree with Dorothy Fraser that it should be rejected by "every CCF group and every individual CCF member . . . in toto."

The new draft statement is an attempt on the part of the national leadership to write into the party's programmatic documents, to legalize the whole treacherous course that it has been pursuing since it stood up the house in September 1939 and committed the movement to support of World War II.

The draft is vague, lacking in positiveness, has a generally woolly nature, gives no clear and specific indication of the position of the CCF, as these four prominent CCFers note. It doesn't demand the abolition of the Senate, it

merely notes that it is beyond popular control. It doesn't call for a Bill of Rights, demand the abrogation of the Emergency Powers Act and the Defence Production Act, the end of government by Orders in Council, the repeal of the Garson Amendments to the Criminal Code, nor protest the fascist-like Padlock Law. Far from protesting the whole trend towards the imposition of a police state on this country, it talks in terms of a steady onward and upward progress from "political democracy" on to "economic democracy" to "socialism." It doesn't commit itself on nationalization but assures that much will not be nationalized; what will be only "as swiftly as possible."

One place where it is clear and unequivocal is in that section entitled INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES. Here the draft would tie the CCF to the war chariot of the Atlantic Pact powers, their pauperization of the peoples of the West through their monstrous armament drive, their bloody suppression (under the mask of the UN) of the freedom struggles of the colonial peoples as in Korea, their encirclement of the USSR preparatory to assaulting it with atomic bombs.

IGNORE FACTS

The draft is definite and conclusive at one other place, a place where it has little reason to be. Flying in the face of the ugly trend towards the destruction of civil rights here, the experience in Germany, etc., in point three it states that "in most of the Western world political democracy opens the way to orderly and peaceful change," repeating in point six that "the CCF relies on the vigor of Canadian democracy to bring about social change by peaceful means."

Elsewhere the draft is very vague. And no wonder! It is a loyalty pledge to the St. Laurent government. A pledge of fealty, with no ifs, ands or buts. In making their pledge the authors feel that at most there is only room for a few humble, cautious suggestions: the listing as in point 24 of a few "shortcomings" in the "political democracy" whose praises they sing in point 23—"shortcomings" which point 25 states are the fault of its citizenry who must be "active in making it work," giving "service as well as taking benefits . . ."

Instead of condemning decisive-

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Page 2

ly the imperialist attempts to suppress the colonial freedom struggles, the draft would put the CCF at the service of imperialism in an advisory capacity. The task of its "socialism" is to give leadership to "democracy" to prevent it (and this is after Korea, Iran and Egypt) from hardening "into imperialism of any kind."

The Regina Manifesto is based on a recognition of the class struggle. It opens up with a clear declaration of opposition to "the present capitalist system," "the domination of and exploitation of one class by another." But the second sentence of the draft reads "In Canada we live in peace among ourselves..."

It is no accident that nothing is said about the organization of the workers as a class—the trade unions, which are carrying on the day to day struggle with capital, the schools for the workers.

The Regina Manifesto, despite many shortcomings, deals with reality. The "socialism" of the draft is a spiritual, ethical idea, existing outside of society, outside of the social and economic relations of capitalist society. Instead of a move forward it is a big drop backward, from Woodsworth back to the utopian idealism of Plato and More.

For an examination of the society in which we live there is substituted a conception of what its authors would desire to see. The "democracy" it rhapsodizes about is both timeless and classless, not related in any way to the democracy we know today with its distinct class character and which is daily becoming more circumscribed. Its socialism is merely an ethical concept—an expression of truth, reason and justice which has been waiting to be discovered since the beginning of time and will conquer by virtue of its own strength.

Nowhere is there any sign of recognition that this society bears within itself, is generating, testing and developing the very forces which will carry mankind forward to the new order of socialism. As Dorothy Fraser comments "the whole thing has an unpleasant evangelical tinge."

For an analysis of objective conditions, the relationship of class forces, the course that the struggle is taking and the role that socialism can play in it, the draft substitutes a mass of generalities and pious exhortations. All this leads into the trap that the world is torn, not by an unresolved international class struggle, but by a conflict between an amoral, unethical force, "totalitarian communism" and a force called "political liberty," the latter, Coldwell jargon for "the Western imperialist bloc."

The draft program is not a socialist program at all, it is a liberal bourgeois program. It is an attempt to canonize the credo of the Coldwell leadership. In it is

inscribed the whole rightward opportunistic retreat of the national leadership. In this sense only is it a bringing up to date of the Regina Manifesto—up to date with the leadership's program.

The draft is a provocation on the part of the national leadership. Their course, which it sums up, has been vigorously opposed by broad sections of the rank and file and whole provincial sections of the party. The 1948 Manitoba provincial convention rapped the leadership's support of the Marshall Plan. Both the 1949 and 1950 B.C. conventions opposed the leadership's going down the line on the Atlantic Pact. At its 1949 convention the Saskatchewan section refused to take a stand on the Atlantic Pact. The 1951 Saskatchewan convention declared its complete and absolute opposition to the leadership's whole course.

Coldwell has continued on in his treacherous course of submission to St. Laurent's pressure, unimpeded by this massive protest, not to speak of the Regina Manifesto. The draft is not an attempt to straighten out the differences, adopt a correct policy and lead the party forward. On the contrary, it is a declaration of war by the leadership to force through acceptance of its policies. They know full well that the draft is unacceptable to large sections of the party. Obviously they are convinced that the gap is unbridgeable and that it is necessary to lead an assault on the left now. The Coldwell leadership, which ran roughshod over the B.C. Socialist Fellowship, wants to provide itself with a political disciplinary whip against the Left.

The socialist wing must not fall for this provocation. It must fight for the rejection of the new draft statement. This can best be done by standing on the Regina Manifesto. The discussion around the draft must be utilized for serious educational work in the party. It must lay a solid footing for an all-out struggle with the leadership at a future time. The socialist wing must enter into this discussion with vigor but not by ultimatically counterposing its own detailed socialist program against the draft, rather with a view to educating forces within the CCF for the conflicts ahead.

The real struggle against this draft program will take place not in a more or less abstract discussion on fundamentals but by the Left dealing with the immediate practical tasks confronting the party and the Canadian working class.

Coldwell and his aides are going to be really unmasked and a new leadership built in the process of the Left confronting them and the party with practical tasks arising out of the day to day problems. They will be unmasked by a fight to win the CCF to the side of the colonial freedom struggles, to opposition to the war drive and its undermining of living standards, its infringements on civil rights, etc.

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Warning to Labor

The chickens are coming home to roost, but fast! About a year ago, the Canadian Labor Relations Board, with the wholehearted approval of Mosher, D'Aoust and Picard, the board members from Canada's three leading labor bodies, decertified the Canadian Seamen's Union. The board claimed that the CSU was no longer a union but a political body.

This decision struck right to the heart of the basic right of workers to be represented by unions and leaders of their choice. It was used by the Canadian Press in its fight against the American Newspaper Guild, CCL. The company claimed that because the CCL had endorsed the CCF as labor's political arm the union was not a union but a political party.

In the last two weeks these attacks on the democratic rights of the workers by Big Business, aided and abetted by the top union bureaucrats, entered a new phase. In Quebec, Premier Maurice Duplessis intervened in a certification hearing demanded by the United Electrical Workers. He charged that the UE was a "communist" union and therefore could not be certified as a collective bargaining agent. Claude Jodoin, Trades and Labor Congress vice-president, and R. J. Lamoureux, United Steelworkers CCL official, rushed to support Duplessis and his reactionary labor board.

The CSU case was the only precedent for such action despite the rotten Quebec labor laws. The decision of the UE leaders, who head a substantial bloc of workers in Quebec, to withdraw their demand for certification and hastily retreat before this attack can be discussed some other time. We are mainly interested in the effect of this Quebec affair on the whole labor movement. Its repercussions were almost instantaneous.

In Nova Scotia, the Marine Workers (CCL) were refused certification for 500 workers employed by the Ferguson Industries. The reason—the union's secretary-treasurer is a member of the Labor Progressive Party; a fact that has been long known by government officials. The board stated, that certifying such a union "... would be incompatible with promotion of good faith, collective bargaining. ..."

Of course, we are not surprised at the anti-labor actions of these boss controlled boards. That is their purpose—to smash unions and where that is impossible to try to convert the unions into emasculated, housebroken, dependent agencies of the capitalist state.

But one would have to be stone blind not to see the implications of these decisions. Nor can the trade union misleaders who supported these decisions be unconscious of the inevitable results of their treacherous role. The next step?—just the brazen accusation that a leadership of a union, any union, is communist, and its decertification.

And isn't it only logical that following that, unions that have endorsed the CCF, unions with a CCF leadership, will soon be under attack? For Big Business looks upon the CCF and labor political action as much more dangerous than the weak and discredited Stalinist party.

Unemployment and Immigration

This Christmas is not going to be a very merry one for a couple of hundred thousand working class families. For a very select few it will be a posh one. Dividend payments set a new all-time high for the fifth consecutive year and were over 70 per cent higher than the peak pre-war year of 1938.

Of course it won't be a very Joyeux Noel for those whose loved ones are being kept in Korea, for those who are being forced to live at exorbitant rents in any kind of quarters they can obtain. Due to inflationary wage cuts, lots of families will be having a Christmas dinner that will feature margarine, skim milk and perhaps even a roast of horse meat. But we weren't even thinking of those.

In Ontario alone there will be about 100,000 workers and their families who will have an even more dreary Christmas, if they have one at all. They are jobless. In B.C. thousands have been thrown out of work by the slump in wood products sales. As of December 6th there were 77,837 jobless in Ontario and their number is growing rapidly. In the two-week period at the turn of this month the total jumped 11,000.

Now a hue and cry is going up to "Halt Immigration!" As if the few hundred thousand immigrants coming into this country has anything to do with the current unemployment or could make it worse to any appreciable degree.

This "solution" to the problem of unemployment is about as profound as the simple paralleling of figures that is done to sustain it; 150,000 persons came into Canada in 1951, there are almost 200,000 unemployed.

In the thirties there was a closed door immigration policy yet unemployment was widespread. In many areas as many as one in five heads of families were on relief. Two years ago unemployment was even higher than it is today yet at that time the mass immigration schemes had only begun to get underway. Did the immigrations lift the economy out of the slump into the boom of some months back? Obviously this unemployment has nothing to do with immigration. It comes not from too many people but from the anarchy of capitalist production.

This facile answer to the problem, this "Halt Immigration" demand, has all the earmarks of an attempt to pander to anti-foreign prejudices and of a diversion from any real action against unemployment.

Halting immigration will solve nothing. But a campaign to increase unemployment insurance to the full rate of pay for the duration of unemployment, a campaign for the sharing of the work, no layoffs, adjust the hours of work downward with the same take-home pay will solve something. Such a campaign would be a big step towards the solution of the problems of these 100,000 workers now unemployed and the thousands more threatened with unemployment.

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REPORT DEBATE AND ANTI-WAR RALLY IN B.C.

Vancouver, November 20. — The meeting arranged by our supporters in this city last Tuesday evening was one of the high points of our national tour for Labor Challenge, remarked both Barry Brent and Murray Dowson. An attentive audience, at the Steelworkers Hall, not only heard a speech on "The War Danger and the Struggle for a Socialist Canada," but participated in the lively question and discussion period which followed. A number of workers present stopped and bought socialist pamphlets from the attractive display at the back of the hall.

Barry Brent chaired the meeting and introduced the subject with a brief outline dealing mainly with the Korean War. Murray Dowson showed in his speech the capitalist character of the war now in preparation. He pointed out that while the economic crisis had been postponed by armament production this was laying the basis for a new wave of radicalization of the Canadian working class. "The workers in this country have demonstrated by their whole past history that they will not sit idly by while their standard of living is being destroyed by inflation, increased taxation and attacks on their democratic rights."

Dowson compared the principled anti-war position of the revolutionary socialists with the pro-war line of the CCF leaders and the pacifist nonsense of the Stalinists. Emphasizing the anti-war slogans of the Revolutionary Workers Party such as "Let the people vote on the question of war or peace," he showed how the transitional slogans of the Fourth International can and would become the program of the masses in the struggle for a socialist Canada.

DEBATE WITH SECTARIAN SOCIALISTS

On Sunday, November 18, at the Social Science Forum in Vancouver, Murray Dowson debated Bob Loosemore of the Socialist Party of Canada. Dowson took the affirmative side of the question "Resolved that a revolutionary socialist party is necessary for the success of the socialist revolution."

About 45 workers heard Dowson explain that a knowledge of Marxism carries with it the obligation of participation in the class struggle in order to raise this struggle to its highest expression, the political struggle for socialism. He took examples from the lives of Marx and Engels themselves, such as their role in the organiza-

tion of the First International and participation in the Chartist movement, to prove that such activity was an essential part of Marxism. Among other arguments, Dowson pointed out that the workers in Germany and Spain had been defeated despite favorable circumstances for victory due to the lack of a revolutionary party with a correct program. On the other hand, he said, where the workers had built such a party they were victorious as in the Russian revolution of 1917.

Bob Loosemore defended the position that participation in the day-to-day struggles of the workers was useless. The task of socialists, he claimed, was confined to propagandizing for Marxist economics until a majority was convinced of their correctness and then socialism would follow.

A very good question and discussion period followed the two presentations. An almost equal number of persons spoke for three minutes each in favor of the two points of view.

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Stimulating Forum Held By Toronto Branch of the RWP

Toronto members and friends of the Revolutionary Workers Party filled the hall at 62½ Elm Street last month to commemorate the 34th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The speaker was Vincent Grey.

He hailed the rising colonial revolutions as the most inspiring events since the October revolution. Grey characterized them as the second wave of the struggle that was pioneered by the Russian workers under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. The ebb and frustration of the post World War I struggles, the basis of the growth of the Stalinist bureaucracy, he explained, has come to a close with the rise of the peoples in the Far and Near East.

STRONGHOLD SHAKES

Capitalism in its last stronghold, America, is shaking under their blows. Capitalism is confronted with war or depression—it is going to its doom. A good section of Grey's speech was devoted to the crisis in the top circles of the American ruling class. This and the problem of the fight against war were discussed at some length by various persons from the audience. The discussions continued after the close of the meeting while refreshments were served.

The December forum was held at Playter's Hall with Ross Dowson as speaker. His subject was the Ontario CCF election debacle. The highlight of this meeting was the affirmation of the opinions of the speaker by several CCF activists who took the floor to tell of their experiences in various Toronto constituencies.

The January forum will feature a guest speaker who has recently returned from Europe. The exact date has yet to be fixed.

Collect Pledges Assure Success Challenge Drive

A WINDSOR STAR columnist is chortling that "LABOR CHALLENGE in Toronto" is "pinched for funds to carry on." The source of his glee was the last report of our financial drive. Possibly this report will provide him with further satisfaction, but not for long—not if our Windsor supporters have anything to say about it.

Yes, we officially closed the campaign short of our objective. Cash on hand at the deadline was a few dollars short of a thousand dollars. But the last word hasn't been spoken. Windsor pledges a tidy \$309.00 to be paid after the New Year—made up of retroactive pay, receivable when Local 200 UAW settles with Ford, and other pledges that were just not collectible before the deadline.

Vancouver and Toronto came through in good style but both have funds outstanding—pledges yet to be realized on—Vancouver \$33 and Toronto almost \$100. Socialist workers scattered through the Prairies, up the B.C. coast and in the hinterland, have kicked in to keep Labor Challenge rolling off the presses. But there are pledges of a considerable size outstanding in Montreal.

When we set the objective of \$1,500 we raised our sights \$250 above last year's objective. Whether we will attain that sum within the next few weeks is uncertain. But it is certain that we will reach last year's quota. This itself, in a period of racing inflation and unemployment, is a splendid testimonial to the virility of the ideas of revolutionary socialism in this country.

If we collect on all the outstanding pledges Labor Challenge will make its original objective. Late perhaps, late by a few weeks, but we will make it. To those who have already kicked in their hard earned donations the staff sends its warmest greetings; as far as we are concerned the campaign was a great success.

Workers' BOOKSHelf

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

What are the prospects for a real peace? If you are seeking a concise, clear and truthful answer to this question which is agitating so many millions, you will find it

in the 48-page pamphlet, *The Road to Peace*, by James P. Cannon, just issued by Pioneer Publishers, New York, U.S.A.

Few are so qualified as Cannon to treat with this vital issue. He brings to it a long experience of socialist struggle against imperialist war. As a young man he opposed World War I and has continued the fight ever since. On the eve of United States entry into World War II, he, together with 17 other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, was railroaded to jail for taking a principled stand against the war.

In this lifelong anti-war struggle, there was never anything visionary. Cannon has participated as a fighter for the new and better world, the socialist order, the only guarantee of peace and progress. This revolutionary socialist outlook, permeating every line of his pamphlet, makes his analysis and conclusions fruitful and significant.

ROLE OF PACIFISM

Cannon is keenly aware of the role that pacifism and pacifist illusions play in clearing the path for the warmakers. The young generation of workers has little knowledge of the era in the Twenties when the European imperialists and their opposite numbers on our soil kept feeding mankind with one pacifist concoction after another.

Even less known are the years before World War I when the then powerful socialist parties in the Second International were debilitated by pacifism. Because of these bitter experiences, the socialist anti-war struggle has always included the exposure of pacifism, which lulls the people into false security, diverting them from the effective avenues of struggle.

In our days the chief spreaders of pacifism are the Stalinists. That is why Cannon devotes so much attention to the exposure of the current Stalinist "peace campaign," a concoction of deception and hypocrisy, of impudence and ignorance which the Stalinists try to substitute for Marxism.

STALINIST AIM

"The aim of all this Stalinist 'monkey-chatter about the possibility of a solid, enduring peace,' explains Cannon, is to strike a deal with the American imperialists. 'In my opinion,' he writes, 'a formal agreement is possible, and even probable. But such an agreement, if finally arrived at, can only be limited, conditional



JAMES P. CANNON

and temporary. The result of such an agreement can be nothing more than an uneasy truce."

As against "What Stalin Offers," the reader will find "What Washington Wants." The reader is taken "behind the official statements, speeches, prayers and pronouncements" that emanate from Capitol Hill as well as from the Kremlin, and he is shown the economic necessities and class compulsions that over-ride all the other considerations.

To the policy of the Kremlin, on the one side, and of Washington and its Ottawa satellite, on the other, Cannon counterposes the revolutionary socialist outlook, conclusions and program.

He shows how and why American capitalism is driven to war. Its productive apparatus "is piling up ever greater surpluses of goods and capital which its domestic market cannot absorb. Having fallen heir to dominion over the capitalist world system, it needs the whole world for markets and fields of investment." But vast areas have been lost through "Soviet expansion and colonial revolutions." Hence flows imperialism's "frantic and ever more belligerent foreign policy and the stupendous arms program designed to back it up."

From the turn of this century, world capitalism has demonstrated

that it cannot live without a whole series of wars, big and little.

NEW REDIVISION

Untold wealth, which could have long ago transformed the face of our planet if expended to meet civilian needs, is being poured out on an ever larger scale to redivide a world already divided. In this new redivision the American billionaires want nothing less than the whole world as their private preserve.

But the world has already been divided in a way never foreseen either by the imperialist organizers of the two global slaughters or by Stalin, their loyal ally in the last one. In addition to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, other vast areas in the Far East, beginning with China, have broken out of the capitalist orbit because of the eruption of the colonial revolution. The loss of the Middle East now also threatens.

"The more areas torn out of the capitalist orbit by Soviet expansion and colonial revolutions, the narrower becomes the field for American imperialism and the more desperate its need," Cannon points out. Can such "differences" ever be settled over a conference table?

WASHINGTON'S DEMANDS

"American imperialism requires and demands more than the Soviet bureaucracy can possibly give and continue to exist," answers Cannon. "Washington would aim to use a new temporary agreement and truce as a springboard for far-reaching demands which correspond to its real necessities as an expanding imperialist power in a shrinking world. Those who want to face the real problem of peace must understand what these demands are and why they cannot be different."

Is then the struggle a hopeless one? Far from it. If the workers in a single advanced country, especially here in America, took the socialist alternative, the road to peace would lie wide open.

"The class struggle of the workers, merging with the colonial revolutions in a common struggle against imperialism, is the only genuine fight against war," writes Cannon. "The Stalinists who preach otherwise are liars and deceivers. The workers and colonial peoples will have peace when they have the power and use their power to take it and make it for themselves."

The Cannon pamphlet, which sells at 25 cents, and many other books and pamphlets of interest can be obtained at or through the Toronto Labor Bookstore, 62½ Elm Street, Toronto.